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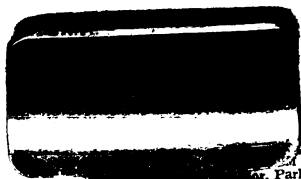


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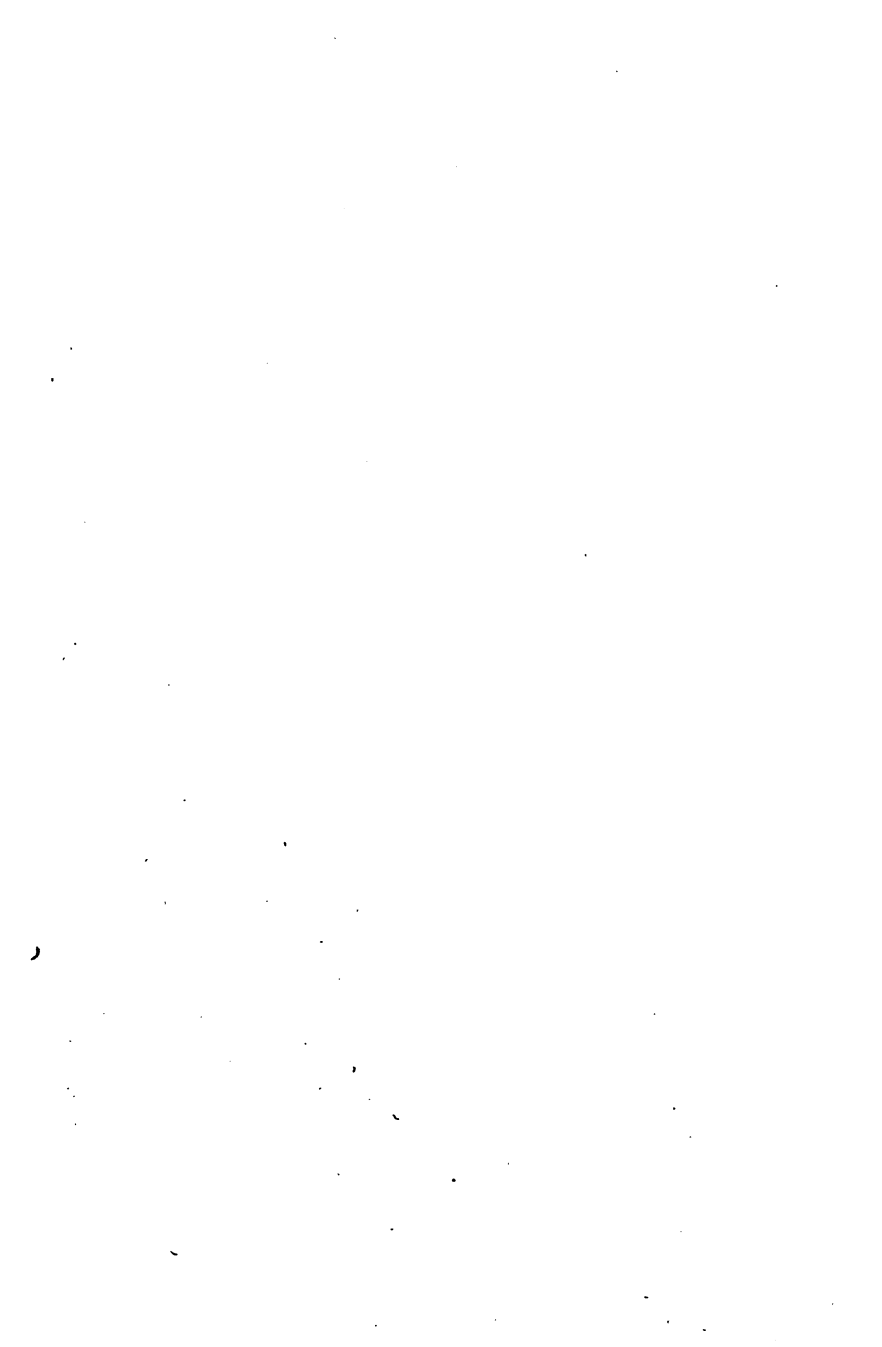
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# THE GROWTH OF THE EMPIRE

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UNIV. OF  
CALIFORNIA

# The Growth of the Empire

A HANDBOOK TO THE HISTORY OF GREATER  
BRITAIN

By ARTHUR W. JOSE  
" "  
FORMERLY SCHOLAR OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD.

*Tantae molis erat Romanam condere gentem.*

SYDNEY  
ANGUS & ROBERTSON

1897

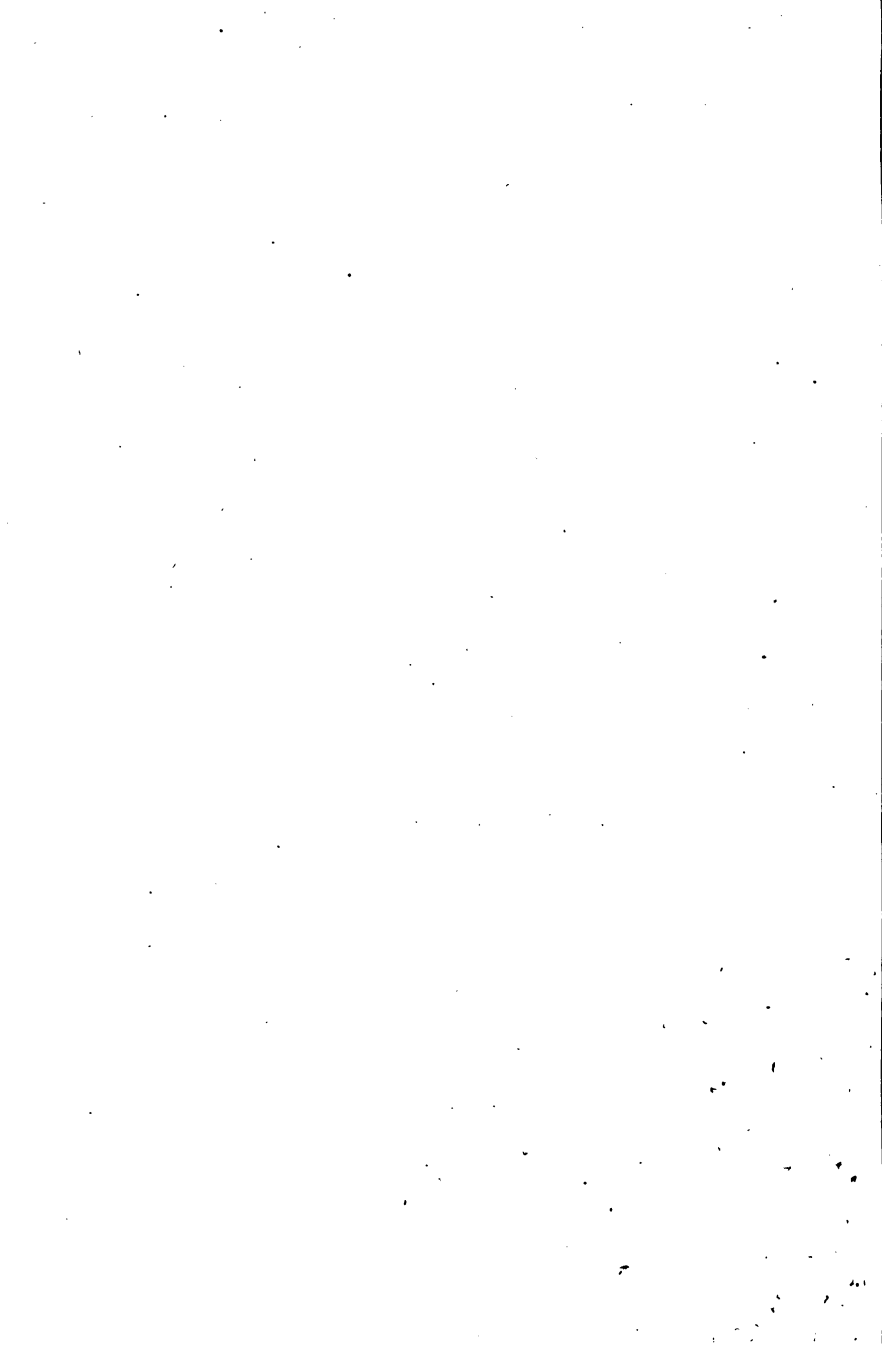
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HENRY MORSE STEPHENS





## PREFACE.

THE name of this book, I hope, sufficiently expresses its object. It is an attempt to portray, interestingly if possible, accurately as far as may be, the growth of that British Empire of which we are all free citizens; to show it in all its stages from acorn to oak as an organic whole, stirred by the same winds of fluctuating policy, nourished in every leaf by the same springing sap of British blood. We have histories enough, large and small, of India and Canada and Australia and South Africa: we still lack the Imperial historian, the man who shall do for Seeley what the Herschels did for Newton. We lack him, but we need him; and it may be that the very imperfections of a mere outline sketch, such as this is, will rouse the right man to do the work that is waiting for him.

For my own work I make bold to hope this fate at least—that it may interest the busy man, stimulate the indifferent man, and whet the appetite of the student; and that everyone who reads it, be he young or old, may feel himself a product and a part of what he reads about,—in whose life the fact of the

Empire's existence, and the methods of its growth, have been and are an important and a determining influence. We are of the race and nation of the Empire-builders, and it is our business to understand their building in order rightly to maintain it.

Regarding the details of the book a word or two of explanation may be necessary. Its central portion—Chapters III to VIII—contains the narrative of main importance: roughly speaking, that of the years between 1690 and 1850. Of the two chapters that precede it, one deals generally with the Empire as it stands and questions suggested by it, and is (I hope) saturated with Seeley: the other tells as much of our earlier history as seems indispensable to the understanding of the main story. The last chapter—IX—which may, if another edition is required, then appear at full length, has been for the present abridged so as to trench as little as possible on those topics of recent controversy which cannot yet be discussed without heat and bitter feeling. This step has been rendered specially advisable because the present edition is intended rather for the use of junior students. The maps are designed to illustrate the text—not to save the reader the trouble of consulting a good atlas.

Elsewhere will be found a list of authorities on the separate colonies, whom the student may consult with advantage: but I may be permitted here to refer admiringly to the monumental works of Kingsford on Canada and of Theal on South Africa,

and to the published volumes of Mr. C. P. Lucas's *Historical Geography of the British Colonies*, which supplied the list of Colonizing Qualities discussed in my first chapter. I wish also to acknowledge gratefully the help given me by Mr. J. B. Peden, B.A., who has read my proof-sheets and made many valuable suggestions.

Finally, I put this book forth with some hesitation, in a memorable year, to add its tiny voice to the chorus which acclaims the Mistress of the Seven Seas. Of Britain's own island history I have said little, since I could say nothing new; but if in my portrayal the glowing spirit of their Mother shines through the eyes of her stalwart sons, I shall at least have paid her the loyal homage I intend.

A. W. J.

Empire Day, June 22, 1897.



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THE publication of this book has been considerably delayed by the recent fire at Messrs. Geo. Murray & Co., Ltd.'s, Printing Works, which destroyed the whole of the first edition on the eve of publication.

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### ERRATUM.

*Page 222, line 21, for brother read cousin.*

## CHAPTER I.

### THE BRITISH EMPIRE.

#### A. *What is It?*

When one begins to study a subject seriously, it is well to commence (like Euclid) with a few definitions of the terms in most frequent use. And few phrases need a clearer definition, and more constant remembrance of that definition, than the phrase which heads this chapter. There have been so many Empires, and so many of them have been associated with ideas of tyranny, that the name has sometimes an evil odour; and the word "Imperial," which should nowadays proudly sum up the achievements of a nation, retains shreds of a worn-out meaning and suffers from our prejudice against individual and irresponsible rule.

In common language, an empire is the combination of a number of countries under one central government; strictly speaking, it should have a single head with absolute power. The three great empires of antiquity — the Persian, Macedonian, and Roman—were all empires in the

What do we  
mean by  
"British  
Empire"?

Ancient  
empires  
were all

strictest sense of the word, and had four points in common. *They all originated from conquest.* Some

won by  
conquest;

small state or tribe, more warlike than its neighbours, became aggressive, established first an ascendancy and then an absolute control over the nearest tribes, and, by absorbing their fighting men into its ranks, created an army large enough to extend its dominion far and wide. Again, *the conquered tribes were retained in subjection.* This was

made up of  
subject  
tribes;

necessary from the very fact of their subjugation; in the most enlightened of the three—the Roman empire—it was a sign of weakened control when foreigners were admitted to the citizenship, and the very admission but hastened the ruin of the empire. *Each empire was won by the superior fighting power of the conquering nation, not by virtue of its higher culture.* The

independent  
of higher  
civilization;

Persians were distinctly inferior in the arts of peace to the Medians, Assyrians, and Egyptians, all of whom they conquered;

Macedon could not boast of higher culture than Greece or the Persia of its day; the early Romans were below the Etruscans, and the later below Greece and Egypt, in all that pertained to science and philosophy. In every case superior fighting power, and that alone, paved the way for rule. And in every case, tribes and nations—being then small, *the dominion was stretched over many nationalities,* and

and of a  
common  
nationality.

was practically based, as long as it stood firm, on the fear of the Roman name—to

take one instance—and the pride of Roman citizenship. Summing up, it may be said that ancient empires were uniform, being acquired by conquest, founded on the complete subjection of the conquered, independent of their superior culture, and unconnected with any sentiment among them of a common nationality.

Modern empires, on the contrary, are anything but uniform; and each differs in several of these points from its ancient fellows. The German empire, for instance, of to-day represents strongly <sup>Modern "empires" have no such similarity.</sup> the feeling of common nationality. Much as some of the other German states disliked Prussian supremacy, they yearned for German unity more; and there results a compact, coherent <sup>The German :</sup> aggregate of states differing largely in religion and interests, but linked together by strong ties of blood and language. Contrasted with this we find in the Austrian empire a heterogeneous <sup>the Austrian :</sup> assemblage of states, diverse in blood, language, interests, religion, and united only by their ruler,—to whom they came mostly by converging inheritance of his ancestors, partly by diplomatic treaty arrangements, because they happened to lie on his borders. The third great empire of modern Europe is a composite one. Russia, like Germany, is a mass of small states more completely absorbed than <sup>the Russian :</sup> the German into one great body, depending for its coherence not only on blood and language, but even more securely on unity of religion; but added to

this great Slav dominion there is another empire of conquest, Asiatic Russia, founded distinctly upon the superior civilization of the conquerors. It, too, is compact, bound up like Germany and Austria within one continuous frontier line. We might also notice, in passing, the now extinct colonial empire of Spain, which shows clearly the results of applying the ancient Imperial system to an empire of colonies; for it is to be noticed that the extension of a dominion by colonization is a purely modern phenomenon. So Spain, the first of the great modern colonizing powers, spoilt an opportunity unparalleled in the history of the world, and ruined her new wine by pouring it into the old bottles of conquered and subject empire. And her acquisitions, ruled by the old method, fell from her in the historic way. Like the provinces of Macedon, partitioned among Alexander's generals, where the conquering race was soon absorbed in the greater mass of the resident population, the South American Republics became the prey of a succession of dictators, and the intrusive Spaniard became gradually indistinguishable from the Indian races over whom he had once held sway.

Apart from all these stands the British Empire of the present day, resembling them in many points, but distinguished by its complex composition, the wide severance and dissimilarity of its parts, and the curiously incongruous character of the ties which unite them to

The British Empire is more complex than any of these.

the mother country. For convenience we may consider it under two heads—the colonial empire (which is not, except in the case of purely Crown colonies, an empire in the technical sense at all) and the Indian empire.

The colonial dependencies of Britain fall into three groups—(a) the great self-governing dominions, federated or not, Canada, Australia, and South Africa; (b) the mass of small colonies administered by officials from home, but possessing a voice in the making of their own laws (in training, as it were, for future self-government); and (c) the military stations under complete control of the Home Government, which, together with a few districts like the Bechuana-land protectorate and the West African settlements, where the native element is disproportionately strong, compose the real “British possessions.” They are nearly all colonies of conquest, but of a peculiar kind of conquest. Either, as in the case of Australia and of those colonies which are now the United States, the conquest was gradual, an occupation of land which the original inhabitants were too few to fill and too unskilful to use to the full; or it was a conquest not of the original owners at all, but of a previously invading race, such as took place in Canada and at the Cape. And in this latter style of acquisition lay a great danger, which in one place is still threatening; for Canada was even during this century disturbed by attempts of some French colonists to regain their lost power, and in South Africa the



Boer element maintains a very serious interference with the closer union of the colonies there.

Thus even among the self-governing colonies we have to draw a line between those which are linked to Britain by blood and language and those which are kept in the empire by little else than its superior civilization, its moral prestige, and a certain amount of community in interests. In the less independent colonies the tie of nationality is weaker still. Negroes in the West Indies, Malaysians and Chinese in the East, savage tribes in all the outlying settlements, complicate the relations between government and governed ; and the diversity of races is far surpassed by the diversity of religions.

Turning to the Indian empire, we are in a different atmosphere altogether. India, apart from British rule in it, is simply a geographical expression—a large piece of the earth cut off by high mountains from the rest of Asia, and so conveniently spoken of under one name—peopled by tribes of different tongues, different origins, different religions, constantly (in old times) at war with each other, an aggregation of the least similar constituents that were ever crowded together on the face of the earth. Mountaineers and plain-men, warriors and philosophers, snake-worshippers, Brahminists and Mohammedans, with many others, are all included under one head when we talk about India ; and the solitary bond between them is their subordination to British.

rule. Here, then, we have an empire proper, administered by a central government composed entirely of an alien race ; kept in check partly by alien forces, partly by a judicious utilisation of internal differences ; governed on alien principles, and very largely with alien institutions, which must help to give the alien higher privileges than the native. In fact, we have the nearest approach possible in modern times to the old Roman system of empire, but with one great difference in favour of British rule. For the last hundred years it has been the theory in our government of India, to which the practice has more and more approximated, that India is to be governed for its own benefit, not for ours. Though more completely a British possession by right of conquest than any large territory in our dominions, we hold it for its own sake far more than for ours ; and the growing trade which constitutes its chief value for the rest of the empire, and which, it must be confessed, would probably be ruined by any separation, has been allowed to increase naturally, unfettered since the British nation has governed India by any selfish and restrictive laws.

an empire  
much of the  
old style,

but with one  
very im-  
portant  
difference.

*B. How did it come into being?*

How did this complicated political system come into being? It is a question all the more interesting because not so very long ago no one would have dared to predict such a state of things. Its growth is a

Time-spaces  
in history. matter of two or three centuries only ; and though we are apt to think of everything before the French Revolution as very ancient history indeed, a century in a nation's life is no more than ten years in a man's. It is a very useful rule for getting at the proportions of things in history to divide all your time-spaces by ten, and to remember that modern politics were no more born at the French Revolution than a young man of twenty was born when he first got into trousers.

Four  
hundred  
years ago. So we must remember that the British Empire is a very modern thing indeed. Barely four hundred years have passed since there began to stream out of Europe a long line of adventurers and explorers, traders and settlers, all eager for great deeds and great discoveries and great rewards, for the spices of the East Indies and the precious metals of the West. Southern Asia and the African coast fell to the share of Portugal ; all the New World lay open to the will of Spain. What Spain neglected France explored ; Holland snatched a great trade-empire when Portugal lost her freedom. After a hundred and fifty years of this European enterprise Britain alone of the Western powers was lagging behind ; her colonies were comprised in two strips of the North American seaboard, with hostile powers on either flank and Dutch and Swedish settlements between them.

To-day the empire of Spain has dwindled to a few islands and a strip of barren coast. Portugal

holds, in a vague fashion, territory about as large as South Australia. The Dutch Islands in all are smaller. France, indeed, has an empire about two-thirds the size of India ; but only about one twenty-fifth of that has been hers for more than fifty years. And Britain, the seeming laggard, holds more than eleven million square miles of the earth's surface—the area of Africa inhabited by the population of Europe ; while the two colonies that barely held their own against the four other occupants of North America have developed into an aggregate of three million and a-half miles more, inhabited by nearly seventy millions of people.

It is easy to see why Britain was so far behind the others. Before a nation can begin to colonize it must first have consolidated itself. That is why Portugal in the fifteenth century was ahead of Spain in matters of colonizing, and why Germany has only just appeared on the field.

*It takes a nation to colonize : collections of peoples will not do.*

Now it was under Elizabeth that England first contained a united nation, and under her began the acquisition of distant colonies. But it so happened that after her death there cropped up several religious and political questions of great importance, and these had to be fought out and finally settled before colonization could be taken up in earnest. So the serious history of the British Empire really begins with the eighteenth century. It was during that time that the Scottish kingdom, after fifty years of close union with England, became itself a coherent whole, and brought fresh power to the task of Empire-making : Ireland,

too, which the British Government had been in the habit of treating as a distant colony—on the same lines, one might almost say, as Jamaica—was gradually admitted in practice to the rank of a sister kingdom, and took her part in the expansion of Britain.

But by this time the greater part of the habitable world had been allotted. By the middle of the seventeenth century there was hardly any room left, at least for a new colonizing power.

*How was room made ?*

In two ways. In the first place, Britain at once insisted on the rule which Germany, in a similar difficulty, revived in 1884. The land belonged, said the British traders, to those who occupied it. It was futile for Spain to claim general ownership of South America, or for France to nail lead-plates on half a dozen trees in the Ohio valley. The government might sometimes yield a weak assent to such claims, but the merchant explorers pooh-poohed them. Wherever other Christian nations had actual settlements, they were generally willing to acknowledge their prior right ; but unoccupied country (and in those days all nations meant by that “unoccupied by Christian Europeans”) was fair game. And having thus got foothold on the new countries, they took advantage of every opportunity through which a European war could be forced on the home government to extend their own area of occupation over the colonies of the

How Britain  
made room  
for herself.

countries which Britain might be fighting. They were the better able to do this because the British navy rapidly made itself master of all the other European navies ; and the command of the sea, which resulted from this, enabled British colonists, while drawing their own supplies of men and material from home, to cut off the supplies of their hostile neighbours.

The importance of sea-power.

### *C. Britons as Colonizers.*

The detailed proof of all this will be found in the remaining chapters of this book. There is still one more question which we ought to consider here.

*What made Britain a colonizing nation?* All nations are at some time or other bound to spread beyond their original borders : and the nation that holds control of the sea routes is in the best position to expand effectively without being broken up in the process. Yet this does not account for all the facts in the case we are dealing with. Within two hundred and fifty years a state occupying less than a hundred and fifty thousand square miles of land has grown into an empire that includes more than eleven million square miles ; and that is not done by sea-power only.

But sea-power alone will not account for it.

There are seven qualities specially useful in the work of colonization. All colonizing nations possess some of these qualities ; British success is based on the majority of them. The first is

The colonizing qualities.

(i.) *Physical strength*.—In the competition for colonies all parts of the earth have been occupied, and that nation must be most successful which can best stand all varieties of climate and come through all dangers with least permanent harm. Such a nation will be bred in the temperate climates, and on the whole the further north the better. Britain, France, and Germany have this advantage over Mediterranean nations.

We may add here the *tendency to rapid increase in population* which helps to occupy rapidly, and so maintain a hold on, the comparatively waste lands where colonies are formed.

(ii.) *Adventurousness*.—Nations mainly continental are slow to move; it is the maritime powers that scatter their explorers over the world. And it is a great advantage here that a nation should be composite, not all of one stock. The Spaniards who followed in the track of Columbus were a blend of many races—Gaul, Visigoth, Roman, Moor, Jew; and in French colonization to-day it is the men of mixed blood, Normans, Bretons, Gascons, who do most of the work. The French peasant of the central districts knows nothing of colonies, and would feel it a worse than Siberian exile to go there.

(iii.) *Trading Spirit*.—It is not enough to discover new lands; the colonizer must have some motive for holding them. When Portugal in 1580 fell into the hands of Spain, all her valuable East Indian colonies

were practically thrown away because the Spaniards, adventurous as they were, cared for nothing but gold-seeking. So the Dutch, the most ardent traders of that day, were able to annex nearly all Portugal's colonial empire; and their commercial zeal has stimulated them to hold their conquests ever since.

(iv.) *Settling Spirit*.—After all, a trading colony like the Dutch East Indies is not our idea of a colony at all. To hold one or two towns along the coast of a big island and keep some order among the native chiefs is not work that can build up new states. The empire-making races must contain men who will open up new countries with the hope of living in them. The Frenchman in Tonquin hopes to get back to France before the best of his life is over; but the English colonist at Buluwayo is there to make himself a home.

(v.) *Fighting Spirit*.—This does not mean aggressiveness, but the determination to “stand no nonsense.” It is the carrying out of the old advice :

“Beware

Of entrance to a quarrel; but, being in,  
Bear ’t that the opposéd may beware of thee.”

A few years ago France and Germany had strips of coast side by side in the Gulf of Guinea, and the native tribes of the inland country troubled both. The Germans, brave enough when they must fight, and never over-lenient to natives, yet concluded for quietness' sake to confine their operations to the



coastal districts. The French were determined to make themselves respected by their neighbours up country. And to-day the German Cameroons colony is shut in all round by the French Congo, which is spreading north-east into Central Africa till it may meet British colonies of the Eastern coast.

(vi.) *Adaptability to the native element.*—Few colonies were so sparsely populated at their first settlement as Australia. The Red Indians in North America, the Bantu tribes of South Africa, the Aztecs of Spanish America, were all important factors in the settlement of those countries; they were too many to be despised and too warlike to be cowed. The nation that could best humour them gained an advantage over its competitors. So France, by making friends with the Indians, long held her own against overwhelming numbers of English colonists in the struggle for the Mississippi valley. To this adaptability also is largely due the Russian conquest of Central Asia.

(vii.) *Dominance.*—You can utilize native tribes by humouring them; but to establish an empire among them you must be able also to master them, and to do it in such a way that they will own the mastership without chafing under it. To make the men you have conquered follow you gladly—that is the secret of empire; to be obeyed because you are trusted, and feared only by the shifty and crooked. On this all our Indian empire rests. We conquered the Sikhs in 1848, and they stood by us in the Mutiny nine

years later. We occupied Hunza-Nagar in 1890, and in 1895 the tribes marched with our men to relieve Chitral. British rule in India is based, indirectly but no less certainly for that, on the consent of the governed.

It is worth while remembering that British colonization is not carried on only with men of the British race. The same qualities that hold the empire together make it possible for other races to transfer themselves within the empire from Britain uses other races as colonists. continent to continent. Such migrations brought perforce the negro to his beloved West Indies, and now stock Guiana with Hindoo coolies and set the Sikh to civilize Nyassaland; while under less fortunate stars the Banyan has invaded Natal, and the ubiquitous Chinaman descends from a British birthplace at Singapore upon the warm lands that back Port Darwin.

We have now got some idea of the foundations which uphold this great fabric of the Empire. From end to end it has been built up by the adventurousness of men always ready both to fight and to trade. The great colonies are British Our Empire the creation of the race, because beyond all others that race of men can make a home in new lands without breaking loose from the mother country. India is British because the same race supplies for its government continually men of heroic masterfulness and splendid incorruptibility. Everywhere it is the race, not the State as such, that

has done the permanent work of colonization—for Australia, the one State-founded colony, has ever since been trying to forget the methods of her founding, while she bears, and will for many years bear, marks of her origin in the insatiable craving of her people for Government aid in all their undertakings. Not so was born the proud self-reliance of New England and of British India: a private company founded Massachusetts, a private company won Bengal: and to-day on the Zambesi and on the Niger alike the strength and the resources of private citizens are creating new provinces for an African Dominion.

But while private enterprise has nearly always taken the initiative, and has often carried its adventurous achievements through without State help, yet the State has helped. For the last 150 years

How the  
State has  
helped.

British war-policy has mainly been commercial and colonial in its aims, not dynastic or ministerial. Since Walpole was forced into unwilling war with Spain by the smuggler-merchants of London, the popular voice has generally instigated and always supported the policy of fighting. For Britain since then the day of Kings' wars has been over; the one King's war of that period—the War of American Independence—was at first backed by a popular feeling that counted the colonists ungrateful, and when it lost that backing it died a natural death. In other countries we have still seen wars brought on for the sake of a dynasty, or to distract attention from a

vicious government at home; but it was not the Hanoverianism of George II., or the anti-republicanism of George III., that set us fighting in 1755 and 1793—it was the insistent and inevitable demand of British settlers and British traders that their expansion should be unhindered by land and sea. And to maintain this the nation has never refused to spend blood and treasure like water. The National Debt is the memorial of its lavishness, the capital which it has raised without stint to found and establish this great joint-stock business that we call the Empire. We should never forget that the home Briton pays nearly two-thirds of his income tax (five-pence in the pound) as interest on that capital, and therefore as the price mainly of colonial freedom. The actual figures are worth having:

£35,000,000 was the price of Nova Scotia and in part of India, since the profits of the Assiento contract went to establish the British Company in India.

£87,000,000 was the price of American freedom—the expulsion of France from Canada;

and if £116,000,000 was spent in trying to retain within the Empire the colonies which had already cost so much, it was scarcely too dear a price at which to buy the

ruin of personal monarchy and the bankruptcy of monarchic France.

Finally £621,000,000 spent in the great European wars that crushed Napoleon and established our supremacy on the oceans, is the price of Australia and South Africa, and of the power to expand into new lands without disturbance that we enjoyed for seventy years after Waterloo.

Certain qualities of body and mind, therefore, make Britons good colonists: the initiative in that work has usually been left to private enterprise: and Summary. the nation has not grudged its support to the private adventurer. With such aids the Briton has mastered his fate, wherever it set him down to the struggle—whether his task has been to impose upon the warring civilizations of India a rule whose strength is in its justice, or himself to civilize that other Indian of the West from hunter into farmer: whether he must tame in Africa the Zulu and the Fulah, or in Australia fight against drought and fire, and the mere vastness and emptiness of the land.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE BEGINNINGS OF COLONIZATION.

#### A. *The Elizabethan Adventurers.*

The building of our empire began in the later years of the reign of Elizabeth. Our first permanent colony, indeed, dates its existence from three years after her death; and by that time the other nations of Western Europe had been for a hundred years busy in exploring and dividing among themselves the new coastlands which Columbus and his successors added to the map of the world.

Greater  
Britain  
dates from  
the reign of  
Elizabeth.

It is a fairly well-known story, the tale of that outrush of adventurers, that scramble for American territory, which matched the fairy tales of Eastern art with stranger realities of Western travel, and turned of a sudden the hard-fighting, clean-blooded Spaniard into a pampered millionaire. Portugal studded with her trading forts the long stretch of Western African coast and the whole curving shore-line of the Indian Ocean from Mozambique to

Other  
nations  
ahead of us:

Portugal in  
1434.

Malacca, seizing in her passage south the great Brazilian promontory, and thrusting her ships through the tangled straits of Malaysia till they had commerce with half-mythical Japan.

Spain in  
1492.

Spain, borrowing her guide Columbus from those ancient mariners the Genoese, steered a more daring course through open ocean for the same Indian goal, and found her passage barred by a land more wealthy still; her soldier bands, unfit by nature for the trade methods which so successfully exploited the real India, found more congenial work in uprooting the fungus empires of Mexico and Peru, and converting whole tribes (as did the Moors they had lately conquered) at the point of the sword. The famous "Pope's line"\* separated these two rivals, and claimed the whole non-Christian world as an appanage of one or the other.

Year after year new bands of adventurers crossed the Atlantic in search of gold and empire.

The rush  
for the  
New World.

Columbus to his dying day had believed —had, at least, been very insistent that others should believe—that he *had* found India; but within a few years of his death the truth was known so far as Spain was concerned; for Spain was very jealous (Portugal also, for that matter).

\* Pope Alexander VI. in 1493 drew a line on the map along the Atlantic from north to south, passing 100 leagues west of the Azores. All non-Christian territory east of this was allotted to Portugal for conversion and conquest, all west of it to Spain.

of letting any other nation into her secrets, and the work of Balboa at Darien, of Ponce da Leon in Florida, of de Soto on the Mississippi, and of Coronada in the Rocky Mountain chain between the Upper Missouri and the two gulfs that bound Mexico, only became known to the rest of Europe in driblets, an adventure at a time.

1513.  
1512.  
1543.  
1540.

For some years, therefore, the Spanish possessions were thought of as a mass of half-defined islands in mid-Atlantic, with the long north-eastern arm of Asia curving itself gently above them. Newfoundland and Labrador, discovered by the Cabots in 1497\* and re-surveyed by the Portuguese Cortereal a few years after, figured on maps where we now see Saghalien, with Greenland just above them in place of Kamtchatka. This curious distortion, moreover, brought these lands to the east of the Pope's line, and therefore within the Portuguese claim; and as Cortereal was not very enthusiastic about what he had seen, they became a No-man's-land open to explorers of other nations. Within a very few years of Cabot's voyage French fishermen were at work on the Banks of Newfoundland; soon four nations shared the cod between them, and a squadron of fifty fishing boats from

Early  
notions of  
America.

The Banks  
of New-  
foundland.

\*John Cabot got £10 from Henry the Seventh for his discovery.



England lorded it over six times their number of Spaniards, French, and Portuguese.

Fishing, however, was a minor matter to the rulers at home. India was still their goal—or rather, because the Portuguese seemed to monopolize India, “Cathay and the Moluccas,” the mainland and the islands of Asia that lie east of the Gulf of Siam. Gradually it became known that the coastline was practically continuous all the way from Florida to Labrador, and that the American barrier thus stretched from top to bottom of the Atlantic; but hope was still left. Where the new land was well-known, from Mexico downwards, it was narrow—it might just as well be narrow further north. There were legends, too, of a great sea to westwards seen over the sand-dunes of Cape Hatteras; there were others of the Roanoke River, whose head-springs were often salt with spray blown from the Pacific Ocean. The French, not yet willing to quarrel with Spain by openly traversing her claims, determined to find a way through the barrier by stealth, and Cartier sailed in 1534 to thread the passages of the Newfoundland archipelago. His first voyage mapped out the Gulf of St. Lawrence, his second opened up the great river itself as far as Hochelaga, an Indian town on the island of Montreal; Cathay was still distant, but the grim Saguenay gorge and the wide stream of the

Cathay the  
goal.

Legends of  
a Pacific  
inlet.

Explora-  
tions of  
Jacques  
Cartier,  
1534-42.

Ottawa were both possible openings of the long-desired waterway to the Pacific. Thirty years afterwards the great map of Mercator figured Lake Superior as an inlet from the Pacific which could be reached by the Ottawa route, and led the St. Lawrence across the central plain of North America from sources that almost mingled with those of the Colorado.

Not long after Cartier's time England began to take a hand in the game. Cathay, of course, was the object in view; and from the time of Edward VI. to past the middle of Eliza-

England  
wakes up.

beth's reign adventurers pushed out north-east and north-west to find some passage through the Arctic ice. Chancellor on the eastward route

discovered the White Sea and opened up a flourishing trade with Muscovy;

The discovery of  
Muscovy,  
1553.

Frobisher and Davis rounded Labrador, and brought back what they thought was gold from the shores of Hudson's Bay.

English traders voyaged along the coasts of Spanish America, trading peaceably where they could, enforcing trade with their guns

if the Spanish officer in charge of a town tried to prevent them—unless,

The sea-  
rovers.  
Hawkins,  
1562-7.

indeed, the damage was likely to be so great that the authorities at Madrid might complain to Queen Elizabeth about them. International law had not yet insisted very strongly on the principle that a State is responsible for the

behaviour of its citizens beyond its own boundaries; audacious individuals did what they liked and took what they could at their own risk, and trusted that sooner or later their States would help those who had not too liberally helped themselves.

When the Spaniards at San Juan d'Ulloa  
1568. treacherously entrapped Hawkins and Drake, the victims simply set their teeth and looked out for their chance of retaliation; and the sack of Nombre de Dios was the first-fruits  
Drake at Nombre de Dios, 1572. of Drake's vengeance, which was destined to play so large and so successful a part in the first of England's great commercial wars.

But all this was not colonizing. Frobisher was on the hunt for gold and the north-west passage to Cathay; Drake was on the hunt for Spanish treasure and the other end of the same passage—a quest which led him up the Oregon coast in 1579. The honour of the new conception—the permanent occupation of new lands with men who were to live by their own labour—must be given to three of the men about Elizabeth's court: Humphrey Gilbert, his half-brother Walter Raleigh, and their friend and protégé, Richard Hakluyt. We make  
Drake's voyage round the world, 1577-81. too little of Hakluyt, as a rule, though he was the Homer of Elizabethan adventure and the Tyrtæus of our first colonists. Oxford may be proud that she trained him, the friend not

The  
pioneers of  
Empire.

only of Gilbert and Raleigh, but of Sidney and Walsingham and Cecil; the scholar Hakluyt, 1553-1616. whose delight it was to champion British pluck against the arrogance of the Spaniards, to exalt our "valiant knights" and "famous pilots" above da Gama and Columbus themselves, and to write *ab Anglis inventa* across the hitherto blank regions of his maps. "If there were in us," he wrote, "that desire to advance the honour of our country which ought to be in every good man, we could not all this while have forslown\* the possessing of these regions"; and he went on to advocate "the deducting of some colonies of our superfluous people into those temperate and fertile parts of America which are yet unpossessed by any Christians."

Gilbert and Raleigh were fully of the same mind, and were indefatigable in planting small colonies of the new kind. Raleigh's first attempt was made in Ireland, where a large tract of Munster lay waste after one Raleigh in Munster, 1580 and onwards. of the ever-recurring wars between Desmonds and Ormonds; as Desmond had committed high treason by calling the Spanish in to his aid, his defeat meant the confiscation of his lands to the Crown, and Raleigh got twelve thousand acres of them, which he settled with yeomen from Devon.

\* 'been so slow about.'

Gilbert, in his turn, made two attempts to colonize Newfoundland; but the crews of his emigrant ships thought of nothing but gold and Spaniard-fighting, and on the second voyage Gilbert himself was lost in a storm. Raleigh, seeing that we were by this time as much at war with Spain as we were ever likely to be, and therefore need not any longer admit the Spanish claims to the unoccupied North American mainland, sent his fleets further south than Gilbert had done, bidding them work upwards from the borders of Spanish Florida till they found a place worth settling in. They annexed the country about the Roanoke\* and Pamlico Sound, just the place for a colony of Raleigh's pattern—but they, too, had no taste for that sort of life, and while describing the land as “the goodliest isle under the cope of heaven” added that nothing but “the discovery of a good mine or a passage to the South Sea” could induce Englishmen to settle there. So after spending his treasure on five expeditions, each of which either abandoned the settlement or was murdered by the natives, Raleigh gave up Virginia in despair, having got from it only tobacco, which he at once introduced into England, and potatoes, which he distributed among the farmers on his Irish estates. All his enthusiasm and his able schemes failed because he committed

Gilbert in  
Newfound-  
land, 1579  
and 1583.

Raleigh's  
ships on the  
Roanoke,  
1584-90.

\* See p. 22.

them to others to carry out ; with an ambition no less than Bacon's he had taken all statesmanship to be his province, and the results in each case were equally imposing and equally unpractical, and in the end equally fruitful of good when others developed them in detail.

But one memento of Raleigh's Virginia was still left—the charter for its occupation granted to him by Elizabeth. This he passed on to a company of merchants, and they to another, on the chance that something might come of it. In 1602 reports came back to Plymouth of a fine country further north, well watered and with good harbours—which the southern settlement had not ; and the Plymouth people, taking counsel with Hakluyt and the holders of Raleigh's charter, arranged for the formation of a big joint-stock company in two divisions, to which James issued a new charter of a stricter kind. The London branch of the company took the coast-strip from Cape Fear to the Hudson ; the Plymouth branch was given lands from the Delaware to the Bay of Fundy ; as these strips overlapped, neither branch was to make settlements within a hundred miles of the other. The King of his own personal act gave the charter, and appointed nominee councils at home and in America to keep order and administer English law.

Raleigh's  
Virginia  
charter.

Gosnold's  
explora-  
tions, 1602.

The  
Virginia  
Company,  
1606.

The Londoners were first in the field, and in May, 1607, landed their emigrants on the banks of the James River. At once the colony commenced to go to pieces; the newcomers were a shiftless lot, and were under the old illusions about gold and the South Sea passage. Then stood forth John Smith, a typical Briton in many other things besides his name, and took those vagabonds by the collar, bidding them till the ground and make friends with the Indians; he wrote also indignant letters to London, asking why they shipped goldsmiths and idlers to a land that needed carpenters and fishermen and farmers; it was he, in fact, who by his sturdy common sense and strong will pulled the baby colony through its years of teething, and gave England her firm grip on the North American mainland.

The Plymouth Company had for a long time no success at all. It tried to colonize the Kennebec valley, and the first winter killed the emigrants off; it sent John Smith out some years later, but he left behind him in those regions only the name he gave them, New England. At last, stirred up by the success of Virginia, which had just received an elective Assembly and a large share of self-government, the Company applied for a new charter (which gave them

The London  
Company's  
colony.

John Smith.

The  
Plymouth  
Company's  
failures,  
1607.

John Smith  
names New  
England,  
1614

as boundaries New Jersey and Gaspé) with a monopoly of trade and power to sub-let its land to individuals or smaller companies.

Its second  
charter,  
1620.

*B. New England.*

Meanwhile in England the nation which Elizabeth had made was falling apart under the stress of religious quarrels. To Elizabeth herself, and for a long time to the mass of the nation, the church question was mixed up with the political question; those who upheld the Queen were churchmen, those who wished to see her deposed were dissenters. But when the collapse of the Armada had secured her supremacy, men felt able to air their own theories of church government without being traitors to their country. Neither Elizabeth, however, nor James after her, quite realized this change in the religious situation, and protests against the details of church discipline were punished as harshly as plots against the Crown. The split went deeper than mere details. Elizabeth's mariners could pray and fight and joke at once, and went with equal zest to church and theatre; but before her reign was over the movement had begun (and the hoggishness of the Stuart court gave it irresistible strength) which divided England into two camps, one full of fun and frivolity and vice, the other of stern, severe, and narrow men, to whom solemnity meant gloom, and piety

The  
religious  
quarrels of  
Elizabeth's  
reign.

The Puritan  
movement.



was the grimmest of pleasures. These Puritans inherited the best of the Elizabethan virtues, it is true ; but the man who dares not use the whole of his nature is fighting with one hand tied behind his back.

It was a body of these men, belonging to the party known as Independents because in church matters they wished each congregation to look after its own affairs without outside interference, that came to the Plymouth Company's rescue. The intolerance of James I. forced them out of England to live for a time in Holland, where they were treated kindly ; but they were Englishmen, not happy under a foreign flag, and if the old country had not room for them they would make themselves a new one that should be English still. They negotiated with the London Company for a tract between the Delaware and the Hudson, formed themselves into a small joint-stock company, and sailed hopefully for the New World. But by this time the Dutch had busied themselves about American trading stations, and were building forts on the very land which these English emigrants proposed to take up. The *Mayflower*, steered too far north, found herself off Cape Cod ; her captain declared he could not take her further south, and after six weeks of close scrutiny of the wintry and uninviting

The Pilgrim  
Fathers

in Holland,  
1608-20 ;

in the  
*Mayflower*,  
1620 ;

coast the Pilgrim Fathers made their first settlement at Plymouth on Cape Cod Bay. In New England, Dec. 22, 1620.

The example thus set was soon followed. In 1623 a Dorchester merchant-company made a settlement at Cape Ann, which five years later became the Puritan colony of Massachusetts. Massachusetts founded, 1623. Endicott's settlement, 1628. Gorges, Governor of Plymouth in England, who had been the moving spirit in the Plymouth Company, obtained for himself and a friend grants of land along the coast from the Merrimac northward, which grew into the colonies of Maine and New Hampshire. Maine founded, 1622. New Hampshire founded, 1622. Plymouth (New England) explorers, intent on the fur trade, met the Dutch on the Connecticut River and forced them back westwards, thus saving for England the colony to which that river has given its name. Settlement on the Connecticut, 1633. And religious disturbances in Massachusetts, whose people were nearly as intolerant in their way as James I. had been, drove two small parties of religious innovators to found the tiniest colony of all—Rhode Island and Providence Plantations. Rhode Island colonized, 1636.

These five settlements, all originating within a period of sixteen years, peopled mainly by men of one type whose religion was their politics, and cut off by France on the north and Holland on the west from their kin in Newfoundland and Virginia, were gradually welded The welding of New England.

into a fairly coherent mass, and became the  
 "United Colonies of New England."\*

<sup>1643.</sup>

They lived a quiet life of their own, deliberately isolated from the political troubles of Britain; they refused to support Charles I., but they also refused obedience to the Long Parliament, and treated with Cromwell as an ally on equal terms. At the Restoration they proclaimed Charles II. after a good deal of pressure, but made it quite clear that they intended to keep control of their own affairs. When they were hard pressed

in the calamitous Indian war known as  
 King Philip's, from the chief who organized  
 it—the first war of importance in which  
 they were engaged, for their early relations with the Indian tribes were friendly on the whole—not even the destruction of more than half their towns and the slaughter of their best fighting men could compel them to seek help from the mother country.

King  
 Philip's  
 War, 1675-6.  
 Charters  
 cancelled,  
 1684-7.

At last Charles II. decided to take strenuous action, and cancelled the Massachusetts charter; while his brother a year or two later treated the other colonies in the same way, and set a royal governor at Boston with absolute power over the whole country from Acadia to the Dela-

Edmund  
 Andros,  
 1688-9.

\* Massachusetts, Connecticut, Plymouth, and Newhaven first formed this confederation; but Massachusetts repeatedly usurped jurisdiction over New Hampshire and Maine, while Connecticut took the first opportunity of annexing Newhaven.

ware. This tyranny was abolished, it is true, by the Revolution of 1688, and William III. arranged the divisions of New England as they stood thenceforth to the days of Independence. But in the eyes of British politicians a principle had been established; the stubbornest of colonies had submitted once to the annulling of their charters, and would henceforth have no legal excuse for not submitting again.

Plymouth  
absorbed in  
Massachu-  
setts, 1691.

### C. *Other Mainland Settlements.*

While England was thus securing the coast-lands, France had no less persistently followed up the lead of her explorers in the St. Lawrence valley. Long before, indeed, there had been further south a Huguenot anticipation of New England; as the Pilgrim Fathers hoped to escape Stuart intolerance, so Coligny had sought a refuge for his persecuted co-religionists in the lands they named Carolina after the French king of their day. But the Spaniards of Florida wiped that young colony out of existence, and the tolerance of a new king, Henry of Navarre, took away any reason for attempts to renew it.

The open-  
ing up of  
Canada.

The  
Huguenots  
in Carolina,  
1562-3.

In the founding of Canada the one great name that stands out is that of Samuel Champlain. For good and for evil his work settled the destinies of New France. It was he who fixed the first French trading post in the pleasant meadows of Port Royal;

Champlain,  
1603-35.

Port Royal  
founded,  
1604

he who, when hostile influences in Paris for a time broke up that colony, occupied the master-headland of Quebec, whose forts maintain <sup>Quebec founded, 1608.</sup> dominion from Lake Superior to the Gulf; he who, still in search of a phantom strait that should give access to the Pacific,\* opened the Ottawa route to Lake Nipissing and secured French control over the three great Western lakes that lead to the Mississippi valley. But it was he also who threw the weight of French support upon the Huron side in their perpetual quarrels with the Iroquois, and so made deadly enemies of the finest warriors in Eastern North America, whose raids were the New World's counterpart of the Zulu terror, while their defensive strategy and their skilfully-built fortresses have not been matched by savages except among the New Zealand Maoris. And what Iroquois hostility meant to New France we shall see in the story of the frontier wars.†

Champlain's colony was founded on the cornerstone of Quebec. Along the St. Lawrence, between this post and Cartier's island of Montreal, French settlements soon began to extend themselves, and to alternate with mission-stations where friendly Indians received baptism and a certain amount of domestication. Richelieu

\* His discovery of Lake Champlain was not improbably due to the same search.

† See p. 68 and onward.

handed the new province over to a company called "The Hundred Associates," and under its auspices Montreal was founded by an association of religious devotees; but the company had no Clives among its officers, and its whole territory outside the fort-walls remained for years at the mercy of Iroquois raid, which were pushed even to the capture of Frenchmen in sight of Quebec itself. The statesmanship of Colbert and the youthful ambition of Louis XIV. roused Canada from this nightmare, and the colony became aggressive: the Iroquois were chastised, the Western lake-country formally annexed, the Mississippi\* reached from the western shores of Lake Michigan, and the explorer La Salle, navigating it from the Illinois to its mouth, claimed all its valley for the King of France under the name of Louisiana.

The  
"Hundred  
Associates,"  
1627.

Montreal  
founded,  
1632.

Colbert,

Joliet, 1673.

La Salle,  
April, 1682.

North of New England the English had never made very great efforts to obtain a foothold. Argall drove the French from Port Royal, and some years later the peninsula was given by James I. to one of his Scottish favourites, who began his work as colonizer by the distribution of titles among his friends and the scattering of Scottish river-names over the map of

1613.  
Alexander's  
Nova-  
Scotian  
enterprise,  
1623.

\* Named Colbert by its discoverer.

Acadia. An English fleet took Quebec during the short French war of 1628-9, but Charles I. gave both Acadia and Québec back to France to secure the payment of his wife's

Treaty of St.  
Germain-  
en-Laye,  
1632.

dower money. Gilbert had formally annexed Newfoundland, and Lord Baltimore colonized it in 1624, yet it remained for more than a hundred years merely a depôt for our fishing fleet.

Hudson's  
Bay  
discovered,  
1610.

In Hudson's Bay the English ships which penetrated so far saw only a possible route to the Pacific, and so paid most attention to its northern shores and the strait into the Arctic Ocean; until a Frenchman who was looking for new districts for the fur trade found his enthusiasm

chilly received at Québec, and induced a Boston ship-captain to explore the bay's southern extremity, and, with the help of Prince Rupert, to build forts there. Between the still bright vision

Hudson's  
Bay  
Company  
formed,  
1670.

of a north-west passage and the reality of much beaver-skin the Hudson's Bay Company was born; it started with a fine scheme of colonization and a charter as free as that of Massachusetts, but by the time it had

Ruperts-  
land  
annexed.

placed the name of New South Wales on the map between Fort Nelson and James Bay the settlement idea was abandoned, and its operations confined to a brisk trade in furs.

The coast-line south of New England – the strip where the Plymouth and London Companies'

grants overlapped—had been, perhaps for that reason, actively colonized by neither Company. Its intended occupation by the Pilgrim Fathers was defeated as we have seen; and even before that time the Dutch, whose explorer Hudson\* discovered in 1609 the river that bears his name, had built forts on the sites of the present Albany and New York. North of Albany they came across the Iroquois, full of anger at Champlain's attack on them, and ready to make friends with any white men whomight help them to revenge. Traders themselves rather than settlers, they imported colonists from the Spanish Netherlands (Walloons), and welcomed Huguenots from France and refugees from New England intolerance, so that New Amsterdam (the Dutch town on Manhattan Island) became the most polyglot and incoherent of American towns. In 1655 they swallowed up a Swedish colony which Gustavus Adolphus had planted on the Delaware; but it was only a prelude to their own conquest by an English fleet in 1664, when the area they had claimed as the New Netherlands was divided by its new possessor, the Duke of York, into New York and New Jersey.

The Dutch  
in North  
America.

Dutch  
West India  
Company  
formed,  
1621.

New  
Nether-  
lands.

New  
Sweden,  
1638-55.

Dutch  
colonies  
taken by  
England,  
1664.

\*Hudson was a Londoner, in Dutch employ when he sailed up Hudson River, in English employ when he discovered Hudson's Bay.



The latter colony, falling partly into the hands of a Quaker community, gave William Penn the hint on which he suggested to his friend, King Charles, that forty thousand square miles of good American soil would be a good substitute for the £16,000 which the English Admiralty owed his father. The hint was taken, and the father's name affixed to the grant ; and the creation in 1681 of the province of Pennsylvania made up the tale of English colonies until, fifty years later, Oglethorpe founded Georgia.

For around Virginia, too, as around Plymouth in the years after 1620, new settlements had begun to bud. A Catholic refugee colony sprang up in Maryland, with Lord Baltimore as its founder and almost absolute lord. North Carolina spread from Albemarle, the home of a small party driven for religious reasons from the strictly Anglican Virginia ; South Carolina was settled partly from Barbados, partly by an immigration from the north to Charleston, while the Huguenots at a later date contributed materially to the colony's population. Here for some years was seen in action the most fantastic of political comedies ; Charles II. had presented the Carolinas to a few of his favourite nobles, and they determined to do everything in the

New Jersey  
separated,  
1665.

Penn-  
sylvania  
founded,  
1681.

Maryland  
founded,  
1632.

Settlements  
at Alber-  
marle, 1653

at Claren-  
don, 1665 ;

at Charles-  
ton, 1670.

Huguenot  
immi-  
gration,  
1687.

best possible style by getting a great philosopher to draw up their constitution for them. One wonders whether Locke was serious, or just indulging in a philosophic joke, when he devised the "Fundamental Constitutions" with their seignories, baronies, and precincts, their sliding scale of landgraves and caciques, and their attempt to make every one either an aristocratic landowner or a serf bound hand and foot to the land he lived on. The Constitutions would not work; their only result was to make the Albemarle settlers impatient of any government at all, and in twenty-four years they were formally abandoned without ever having been thoroughly enforced. In Virginia itself, which by the creation of all these daughter-colonies had been narrowed to its present coastline, with indefinite power of inland extension west and north-west, the deliberate policy of the London Company had given the settlers so large a measure of constitutional freedom that James I. cancelled its charter; after which it grew by degrees into an Anglican and Cavalier colony, which upon the execution of Charles I. offered his son a refuge in America\*. Europe affected all these Southern

The "Fundamental Constitutions" of Carolina, 1668.

The transformation of Virginia.

Charter cancelled, 1624.

\* It is an interesting question how far that offer, if accepted, might have been the germ of such a North American empire as Brazil, a royal refuge under similar conditions, became in South America. See also p. 44.

colonies to an extent unknown in New England ; even in Virginia there was a Puritan rule, as well as a Cavalier reaction in 1660 ; those useful bees Huguenots in Virginia, 1699. in other men's hives, the Huguenots, found work and rest on Virginian rivers ; and at an earlier date a much less desirable class of immigrants had made their first appearance when in 1619 a Dutch ship brought Slaves first imported. negro slaves to Jamestown.

#### D. *The West Indies.*

The Moorish wars of Spain had forged her people into a stiff rather than a strong nation.

Character of the Spanish conquerors. Eight centuries of fierce conflict had taught them that no weapon was so powerful as a State under a single head inspired by a uniform religion, and they never forgot the lesson ; to the latest days of her Imperial rule Spain unswervingly maintained her policy of centralization and of compulsory religious unity. They had conquered the Moors under the Cross in wars where quarter was rarely given ; in America they remained Crusaders, and became more regardless than ever of the value of non-Christian human life. When, therefore, the Spaniard found himself in the West Indies faced The native races of the West Indies. by two native races, the gentle Arawaks in the islands west of Porto Rico and the fierce Caribs east and south of that island, the fate of the milder race was sealed.

Haiti (then called Hispaniola) became the chief Spanish settlement; the white settlers enslaved all the Arawaks they wanted, and set the others to gold-washing; when the natives died in thousands under this forced labour, or killed themselves to escape it, the Bahamas were depopulated to supply their place. When the supply of Arawaks gave out altogether, negroes were imported from Africa—a race sturdier at labour, but fiercer than the Caribs themselves, if once they escaped, to revenge themselves upon their enslavers.

Negro  
slavery introduced,  
1511.

So when English rovers followed in the path of Drake and Hawkins to harry all Spaniards throughout the Caribbean Sea, they found the Bahamas empty, the Caribs in sole possession from Tobago to the Virgins, and the Spanish strength concentrated on the empires it had conquered—in Mexico, with an arm reaching Europewards along Cuba, Jamaica, and Hispaniola, and in Peru, with a similar arm stretched from Panama along the Spanish Main to Trinidad. The Orinoco Valley and all further east was in Carib hands, with a few Arawak settlements along the coast; and in the forests that edged the Main from Darien to Caracas prowled bands of Cimaroons (the escaped negroes), eager to help any enemy of Spain. This condition of affairs suggested the lines on which our colonization in this part of the world

Spanish  
America as  
the English  
sea-rovers  
found it.

Gulana  
free from  
Spaniards.

proceeded. Wherever Spain had a hold on the country Englishmen raided her cities and attacked her caravan-routes; wherever the country was open they made friends with the natives and hastened to claim it as English. Raleigh, as usual, was first in the work of settling.

Raleigh  
in Guiana,  
1595.

He personally explored the lower Orinoco and spread the fame of Queen Elizabeth abroad over the whole region of Guiana, that lies between the Orinoco and the Amazon; then he came back with reports that only the events of recent years have rendered credible. The soil was fertile, never tilled, waiting to yield great riches to its first cultivators; the natives, whom he treated with a friendly justice, were already loyal subjects of the Queen; there was gold, too, in abundance—some said there was the golden city of Manoa itself. The fame of Guiana went abroad.

The Dutch  
in Guiana,  
1613.

The Dutch made haste to settle on the Pomeroon and Essequibo; James I. issued to Englishmen a grant of the country eastwards to the Amazon, and a colony was planted on the Oyapoc which struggled on for many years. But for the seamen who frequented the West Indies island homes were preferable to a mainland colony. Settlers on their way to the Oyapoc discovered and annexed

Barbados  
annexed,  
1605.

Bermudas  
annexed,  
1612.

Barbados; the Bermudas were colonized by the Virginia Company for the planting of tobacco; and when the death of James

I. set Englishmen once more free to disregard the claims of Spain, a rapid immigration into the northern Carib islands soon eclipsed the prospects of prosperity in Guiana.

Of course England was not the only power that challenged Spain in the West Indies. Chartered companies, with conveniently indefinite charters, were in vogue during the seventeenth century; and the clash of jurisdictions which this indefiniteness brought about could not be minimised in the islands, as it was on the mainland, by the vastness of the territory to be occupied. A French company founded in 1626 claimed the same islands that Charles I. gave to the Earl of Carlisle in 1627. The Dutch West India Company had been incorporated some years before. Actual settlement in almost every case preceded the formal grant; and before the century was half over every Carib island had been annexed by one or the other of the three competing powers, some (and by no means the largest) harbouring two at once, as in St. Kitts and Santa Cruz. The Bahamas, however, lying far to westward of the Spanish trade route, not so tropically fertile as the Carib islands, and connected by position with the mainland colonies of North America, were left outside this cut-throat competition; and fell to England mainly by the enterprise of emigrants from the overcrowded Bermudas.

Chartered  
companies  
in the West  
Indies.

1621.

New  
Providence  
settled, 1666.

From St. Kitts, where English and French settled side by side in 1625, English emigration went on persistently to the neighbouring

Spread of  
European  
settlements.

islands. On the north-west, Dutch buccaneers had seized on the Virgin group as their depôt for treasure and provisions; on the south, French adaptability to native habits had made colonists of that nation more welcome than the English among the large Carib population of the islands from Guadeloupe to St. Vincent. Barbados did try to emulate St. Kitts by occupying Tobago and St. Lucia, but both expeditions ended in failure. The proud little colony was, however, successful in making itself notable at home by proclaiming Charles II. as King in 1650, and refusing (more pluckily than Virginia) to submit to the Commonwealth until its chief town had been actually bombarded and burnt. This

Cromwell's  
Spanish  
war.

called Cromwell's attention to the West Indies, and he determined to enlarge the English territories in that quarter by an open invasion of Spanish America. One chance of peace he left to Spain—if she would throw her American ports open to English traders, no move should be made. On her refusal a fleet sailed against Hispaniola; beaten off there by playing Drake's game without his daring, its commanders consoled themselves with a descent on the half-

Jamaica  
taken, 1655.

empty island of Jamaica; and Cromwell made such good use of his bad bargain,

enlisting settlers from Scotland, Ireland, New England, Barbados, and Bermuda, that Jamaica soon became a prosperous sugar-plantation and the centre of West Indian trade.

At last the spell was broken, and conquest became a legitimate method of colonizing.

The capture of Jamaica began that long process by which the State of Britain, following in armed strength the progress of its merchants to every corner of the globe, enlarged itself into a world-wide empire. Standing midway between Elizabeth and the elder Pitt, Cromwell has a share in the glory of both; he made England a power in Europe, and set her on the road that led to the lordship of the oceans.

*Cromwell  
as Empire-  
builder.*

With Cromwell's Spanish war the West Indies entered on a forty years' fight in which all the nations represented there had their share.

At one time France and England attacked Spain, at another France and Holland attacked England: then Spain and Holland fought France and England, then England and Holland fought France. In this medley islands changed hands as quickly as one changes partners at a ball, though with the grimmer accompaniments of bloodshed and much suffering. The net result, however, was very small: England by 1690 had taken Tobago and most of the Virgin Islands from the Dutch; Holland (as compensation for the loss of New

*The years  
of turmoil.*



York) had received from the English a colony which the Cavalier governor of Barbados had planted in Guiana on the Surinam. The Dutch get Surinam. The most important result of all the fighting lay not in re-arrangement of territories, but in the suppression of the buccaneers.

The Caribbean Sea had been the resort of sea-rovers ever since the first news reached Europe of Spanish-treasure fleets sailing homewards from Mexico and Panama. The sea-rovers. Trade, however, was what most of the early rovers sought, although some of the most daring sacked Havannah and seized a pearling fleet near the island of Margarita. During Elizabeth's reign English privateering formed a great part of the war with Spain; when the complaisance of her successor bid fair to restore in England the Spanish ascendancy of pre-Elizabethan days, the rovers found themselves cut off from the mother-country, and began to make their homes around the sea where they found their prey. Spain grumbled to the home governments, but could get redress neither from France nor from England; she had opened her mouth too wide, had arrogantly claimed the whole of the New World, all its treasure and all its trade—and for all her grumbling she got only the answer that she must defend her claims as best she might.

So there grew up among the West Indian islets that nest of hornets we know as the buccaneers.

When times were hard they hunted cattle in Hispaniola, smoking their meat on the <sup>The</sup> *boucans*\* that gave them their name, or preserving it with the salt whose production made Tortuga so valuable a centre for them. In more fortunate moments they harried the fleets that voyaged between Mexico and Cadiz, or sacked the Spanish settlements of the Main. Flemings and French and English were among them, blended at first in a common brotherhood, but regaining their racial instincts during the years of international war that followed our capture of Jamaica—though even then they could act together on emergencies, so that the Welshman Morgan headed a joint raid on Panama, and Van Horn the Fleming led Frenchmen to the capture of Vera Cruz. But more often they hunted by nations, the Dutch harbouring in Tortola of the Virgins, the French in Tortuga above Hispaniola (from which they founded a French colony in the larger island), while the English swarmed along the coasts of Jamaica and enriched Port Royal† with the profits of their trade. Relics of their power on the mainland are to be seen in the British colony of Honduras, <sup>British Honduras founded, 1670.</sup> the remains of a series of (nominally) timber-cutting stations between Campeachy and the San Juan. But while they had been valuable as a

\*Wooden gridirons.

† In Jamaica—not the Acadian Port Royal.

thorn in the side of Spain, when the other nations began to settle in civilized communities they were found to be mere disturbers of the peace; towards the end of the seventeenth century the romantic name of "buccaneer" gave place to the harsher one of "pirate," their leaders were hung instead of being made governors,\* and the islands that had sheltered them dropped (all except Jamaica) into a humdrum existence, and have since remained unknown to fame. In a crude fashion their exploits had done good in breaking up the Spanish monopoly; their disappearance did more good still, for it was achieved by the final recognition of the principle that a nation is responsible for its citizens' acts beyond its own borders, and is bound to keep them in order wherever there is not already established a government sufficiently civilized for that purpose.

The actual work of colonization was fairly uniform throughout the English islands. Sugar, cotton, and tobacco were the staple products. The climate was tropical. The free white immigrants were sailors or fighting men as a rule, and had every inducement to keep up their warlike pursuits in an age when a fresh war might at any moment set their neighbours in the next island raiding their property. Bond-labour was therefore needful, and until the

\* Morgan became Lieutenant-Governor of Jamaica.

Royal African Company provided a steady supply of negroes that bond-labour must be drawn from home, for the Caribs were useless.

Cromwell shipped to Barbados his pri-

Convict  
labour.

soners from Drogheda and Worcester; later on the great London prisons were drawn upon for a supply; kidnapping, carried on for some years on a great scale, filled up the gaps. Charles II. began his reign with a laudable imitation of Cromwell's policy. He established a Council of Plan-

tations to supervise the whole extent of the colonies, with instructions to arrange

The  
Council of  
Plantations.

for a common system of government and trade, to institute State-assisted emigration, and to bind the mother country and the colonies together by schemes for mutual help. The one idea gave birth to Transportation, the other to Navigation Acts, and the follower of Cromwell lived to be a pensioner of Louis XIV.; yet of all the Stuarts he was the one who did most for our colonies, and his charters sanctioned British enterprise along the Atlantic from the Guinea coast to the frozen shores of Hudson's Bay.

With the slave trade began the commercial prosperity of the British West Indies, until Jamaica planters rivalled in wealth the "nabobs" returning from Bengal. Every sugar-

island became a national asset of great value, a weight to be thrown into this or that scale when treaties were adjusting the balance of power.

The islands  
become  
valuable.

St. Lucia and Tobago especially served this purpose, becoming English or French as the fortune of war gave either nation the upper hand in the negotiations for peace. St. Lucia in 1763 was considered to compensate France in large measure for the loss of Canada—Tobago, left to its Caribs by both nations at Aix-la-Chapelle, became English at Paris, French at Versailles, and English again in 1803. On the whole, the eighteenth-century wars resulted in a great British gain, adding to our empire all the Carib islands between Antigua and the Main, except Guadeloupe and Martinique, and transferring to it also the three western settlements of Dutch Guiana, Berbice, Demerara, and Essequibo.

British  
Guiana ac-  
quired, 1796.

With the slave trade we shall deal more particularly in the chapter on Africa; here it is worth while to look at the question from the planters' point of view. It is of course impossible to justify even the mildest form of slavery among men who rank human life as high as we have done for fifty years. But we are apt to forget that mere humanness was no great distinction two hundred (or, for the majority of people, even one hundred) years ago. In the West Indies more especially, occupied at first by Spaniards and haunted for a century by buccaneers, a man's life or his

Slave-  
labour.

Seventeenth-  
century  
feeling.

sufferings were held pretty cheap. The man who might at any moment be burnt or flayed alive himself felt no great remorse at having flogged or racked a negro who rebelled ; there were Maroons enough in Jamaica, slaves of the old Spanish planters who escaped to the mountains at Cromwell's conquest, without increasing their numbers by making it a trivial thing for the English negro to desert to them. In the seventeenth century barbarous punishment was the lot of all offenders, white or black ; in the eighteenth white bond-labour was almost extinct, white <sup>Eighteenth-century feeling.</sup> freemen were adopting for themselves the comparatively milder punishments which had just come into vogue in Europe, and the negro slave was left under the old code simply because his masters reckoned it was the only one that would appeal to his still savage nature. For the negro was, and where left to himself (as in Haiti) still is, a savage of a low type, and Uncle Tom is a very modern creation. The slave-owners treated their slaves very much as Australians treat their horses—good masters well, brutal masters evilly. Real “nigger-driving” did not begin till the suppression of the slave-trade cut off the supply of labour, and made men anxious to get all they could out of the slaves they already had. We are not called on to sympathize with the planter, but our blame should be laid upon the age, not on the individual. Who knows but that, if vegetarianism

ever became a creed, our descendants might talk of us as sternly as we have talked of the slave-owner ?

After all, we are called on to sympathize with the planter, but in a different fashion. In no age

Effect on the planters. has it been good for a man to rank human beings with cattle, or to depend entirely on the work of others for a peaceful and luxurious life. For their first hundred years the white freemen of the islands were the war-lords each of his little community, justifying their existence by their leadership in defence against buccaneer or French attack—a tropical reproduction of the feudal system. During the next hundred years they did less and less for their money, absented themselves more frequently from the colonies, and became more and more absolutely dependent on the labour of their slaves. This strict drawing of the colour-line between workers and masters, so that freedom meant idleness as far as the negroes could see, had

Abolition of slavery, 1833: the negro degenerates, its effect when in 1833 slavery was abolished by Imperial Act. The negro was told he was free ; he was also told he must work for the next six years as an

apprentice, and begin to support himself and his family ; and he quite failed to reconcile the two

except in Barbados. statements. Only in Barbados, where the population was dense and the planters had lived and worked on their estates, was there a speedy recovery from the drastic revolution in the

labour market. Everywhere else the free negro dropped labour altogether and lived as he could, becoming more degraded every day; and only the importation of coolies from India Coolie immigration. into Trinidad and British Guiana roused him again to a sense of the necessity for steady and reasonable work.

As for the planters, their house had collapsed about their ears. Their source of labour was dried up; their property had vanished—The plantations after abolition. for the twenty millions of compensation money represented but a third of its value; there seemed no chance of recovery. While the few stout-hearted ones were still struggling to regain their feet, English markets were suddenly thrown open to the sugar-planters of Cuba and Brazil. Presently European nations began Freetrade in sugar. to grow beet, to get sugar from it, and to encourage its production by bounties, and the West Sugar bounties. Indian sugar trade sank to one-fifth of its former value. Things are righting themselves now, mainly through the introduction of new industries and a growing trade in fruit with the United States; but the West Indies will remain for many years a warning to their sister colonies in the Empire—both of the un wisdom of putting all your eggs in the one basket, and of the dangers that haunt European races who cannot themselves work the lands on which they settle.



*E. The Old Colonial System.*

We shall repeatedly notice the Spanish wish to centralize not only the administration, but the commerce of their colonies. In this course Colonies looked on as sources of profit. most of the European nations followed the lead of Spain, and even England, while she gave her early colonists more self-government than the rest, was not behind them in exercising a rigid control over inter-colonial and foreign trade. A colony, according to the then universal idea, should be a direct source of profit to the mother country. Spain and Portugal drew from theirs a supply of gold and silver; Holland (for her Companies were merely the State under another name) trafficked with much profit in the produce of her plantations; even France got some sort of revenue from her Canadian fisheries. The commercial theories of the day, moreover, were closely bound up with its politics, and it was thought well to narrow profits rather than to share an increase of them with probably hostile nations. The monopoly, therefore, of colonial trade, which Spain tried to enforce by limiting the ports of entry and dispatch, which Holland, Portugal, and France confided to specially formed companies, England arranged for in her western possessions by a series of Navigation Acts. In Africa and Asia, where she traded without colonizing, the Company system was found useful.

Navigation Acts were no new thing to the English merchant. Statutes of Richard II. and Henry VII. confined certain branches of trade to English-owned and English-built vessels. Elizabeth was not backward in a similar policy, and James I. included the colonies within its scope. But the first of the series which finally ruined Dutch trade and made our growing empire a single commercial organization was the Act passed by the Long Parliament in 1651.

A glance at its provisions will show how vitally it affected the Dutch, then the common carriers of merchandize between all parts of the globe. Goods and produce of any country might be imported into Great Britain by the ships of that country, or—to meet the case of inland states—of the country wherein the natural port of egress lay; all other traffic in imports of every kind must be carried on in English-built and English-owned ships, with English captains and crews at least three-quarters English. The colonies, of course, were reckoned as part of England. Charles II.'s first Act added other still more stringent provisions. The colonies were now forbidden to ship certain goods—tropical products, ship-material, iron, and skins—to any place except England; other goods might be exported freely so long as the vessels were English. Soon a new Act imposed prohibitory duties on goods entering the colonies from any but an Eng-

The Navigation Acts

of 1651;

of 1660;

of 1663;

lish port, and presently another set of  
of 1673; duties seriously hampered any inter-  
colonial trade that might compete with direct  
English commerce. At a much later date  
of 1731. it was enacted that no goods should be  
manufactured in America that might be made in  
Britain.

In return for these restrictions the colonies  
received two valuable privileges; their goods paid  
Colonial lighter duties in the English market than  
privileges. those of foreign nations, while the goods  
they bought there were sent them free of the duties  
which the English consumer had to pay. The  
system, therefore, worked very well for all settle-  
ments which did not grow or manufacture the  
same articles that the mother country produced.  
If Jamaica planters had to dispose of all their sugar  
in England, at least they could outsell the  
foreigner who must pay 150 per cent. more duty.  
But the New Englanders, whose climate forced  
them to grow grain and spin wool as their cousins  
did at home, found the Acts hampering to com-  
merce and almost prohibitive of their manufac-  
tures. Still the system as a whole, until overdone  
by the zeal of Grenville, was not only more liberal  
than the colonial arrangements of other European  
nations, but represented an honest and a three-  
parts successful attempt at commercial federation  
of the Empire

*F. Eastern Trade and Stations.*

On the eastern side of the Pope's line we are confronted with colonial work of an entirely different kind, if, indeed, it can be properly called "colonial." The Portuguese, <sup>Work of the Portuguese.</sup> like the Spaniards, were intent on reaching India. But the fact that they did reach it, and that they were Portuguese, completely altered the situation. They were traders seeking for the most famous trade-lands in the world; they were seamen working along a sea route, caring little for the conquest of territory so long as they could monopolize the commerce of the gorgeous East. Year by year as their adventurous ships crept down the African coast, past the deserts of the Western Sahara, past the fever-stricken jungles of <sup>1445.</sup> Guinea, past the stormy headland of Cape <sup>1484.</sup> Voltas, they planted forts here and <sup>1486.</sup> there to tap the inland trade of the Soudan and the Congo valley; but always they remembered the commands of their beloved prince,\* and passed each year with eagerness their limit of the year before, till Diaz found <sup>Diaz reaches</sup> himself on a coast that bore away north- <sup>Algoa Bay.</sup> eastward, and da Gama climbed past Mozam- <sup>1487.</sup> bique and threw his vessels into open <sup>1497-8.</sup> ocean to light upon the long-sought Indian shore. Then Portugal with all her strength

\*Henry the Navigator, the first organizer of systematic exploration in modern times.

fastened upon the prey she had so honourably won. Almeida broke the power of the Egyptian Sultan, whose fleet was striving to drive the intruders from the Indian Ocean; Goa, Ormuz, Malacca, were the trophies of Albuquerque. Ceylon fell next, and Sumatra, and the Spice Islands; Sofala and Mozambique and Mombasa were already annexed; for eighty years the Indian Ocean was a private lake of Portugal's owning. Then dynastic troubles betrayed the little kingdom into the power of Spain, and the whole structure of her empire collapsed. Spain wanted gold, not trade; and Spain had a bitter enemy who wanted the very trade which Spain despised. So what had been Portugal's became Holland's, and hard on the heels of the Dutch came the roving English, stirred by the achievements of Drake, Cavendish, and Lancaster. The struggle that followed was a fierce one, marked by brutalities such as the Amboyna massacre. All through the seventeenth century fortune swayed this way and that, regardless of war or peace at home; at last the combatants drew apart, still glowering at each other, and England clung to the Indian mainland, while Holland drew close her chain of forts round Ceylon and the islands of Malaysia.\*

\*Portugal, which had joined again in the fight directly she regained her freedom, emerged from it stripped of all her Indian possessions except Goa.

This was the realm of the great Companies, English, French, and Dutch. France and Holland, as we have seen, did a good deal of their American work also by Companies, which England, the colonizer, found in that part of the world but a cumbrous device: in the East, where trade alone was in question, the English East India Company grew and prospered. Bantam in Java and Surat in the Gulf of Cambay were for a long time its head-stations; but the Civil Wars at home weakened its fighting power, while the Dutch threw their whole soul into the contest for the Indies. So eventually Java was abandoned, the island trade dropped (except in Sumatra), and Anglo-Indian commerce centred on three more famous settlements at Madras, Bombay, and Calcutta.

The  
Honourable  
East India  
Company.

1682.

Madras,  
1640.  
Bombay,  
1668.  
Calcutta,  
1690.

Only at the beginning of this century did English influence again begin to spread in Malaysia. From Sumatra a settlement was made on the mainland at Singapore; from Calcutta came the movement that annexed Province Wellesley. In 1824 the Sumatra stations were exchanged with Holland for Malacca, and the two nations came to an understanding which gave us the peninsula for a sphere of influence and left all the islands to the Dutch. Borneo, however, has since seen an English settlement spring up at its northern corner.

1819.

1800.

The English in Borneo. The Sarawak district was in 1841 put by its native ruler under the chieftainship of a notable Briton, James Brooke; and while it still remains an independent semi-kingdom under a British Raja, the connection with England led the way to more direct annexations. Labuan was acquired in 1846 as a naval station for the squadron that keeps down piracy in the Archipelago, and a purchase of land above it in 1877-8 was followed by the creation of the British North Borneo Company, the first of a new line of territorial Companies formed under Royal Charter.

Raja  
Brooke.

1881.

Such were the Eastern outliers of our Indian trade; in the West they were less important until the safety of our trade-route forced us in 1796 to occupy the Cape Colony. Every-where we found ourselves as a matter of course following in the tracks of the Portuguese. These bold discoverers, but somewhat over-cautious mariners, were never fond of a Cape that seemed always to keep its stormiest weather for them; and when their first great Indian viceroy, Almeida, was killed in a quarrel with Hottentots on the shores of Table Bay, they shunned the whole coast as one infested "with tigers and savages and stranger-killers." Much later, when the three Companies began their regular trafficking between Europe and India, the length of that

African out-  
stations.

1510

sea voyage was found unhealthy, and search was made for some half-way house where the ships might refit and get fresh stores. In 1620 an English expedition formally annexed the Cape, but got no further good of it: for in St. Helena occupied, 1651; St. Helena, well out in mid-Atlantic, the English Company had what they wanted ready to their hand. The Portuguese had already, in 1502, made just such a settlement there—"it is," said one voyager, "an earthly paradise for the Portingall ships." It stood fair in the track of homeward-bound ships: the sailor set his sails after rounding the Cape, and the south-east trade-wind did the rest. There was at first a little trouble with the Dutch, who had claims to the island as vague as ours to the Cape: but since 1673 St. Helena has been undisturbedly British. Mauritius, which for many years served the French Company as its half-way house, and more than once became the base of French operations against British India and against Mauritius, 1810; our Eastern trade, fell into our hands during the long Napoleonic war: and Aden, that alone of all seaports on the Indian Ocean had repelled the invading Portuguese, became Aden, 1839. important to us directly Napoleon conceived the idea of reaching India through Egypt, and was finally annexed from Bombay in 1839.

Nearer home, along the shores which Prince Henry's men had so slowly opened up in the



fifteenth century, Englishmen were active in the trade for ivory, gold, and Guinea pepper (the 'grain' which gave its name to the Grain Coast of old maps). 'Old Mr. William Hawkins of Plymouth' was our pioneer on that route, and his son, the more famous John Hawkins, made several voyages to West Africa. His trafficking, indeed, was largely in slaves for the Spanish West Indies; but no second English slave-trader made an appearance for many years after. Four chartered companies were formed under Elizabeth and the early Stuarts, and the third built forts on the Gambia and at Cormantine, near the present Cape Coast Castle: but they confined themselves to the trade in natural products and to the search for gold, hoping by way of the Gambia to reach the goldfields of the Upper Niger.

In India itself our Company's work was for a hundred and fifty years little more important. Not long after the first Portuguese ships reached Calicut there happened one of the periodical invasions from the north-west to which India has been subject from time immemorial. Baber, the Chagatai Turk, came down out of Afghanistan with twelve thousand men and overthrew the dynasty then reigning at Delhi, founding in its place that of the Moguls. His early successors

About 1530.

1562 and onwards.

Exeter Co., 1588.

Taunton Co., 1592.

African Co., 1618.

African Co., 1631.

Affairs in India.

Baber's invasion, 1525-6.

consolidated the empire he had won: Akbar the tolerant, Jehangir the luxurious, Shah Jehan of the gorgeous imagination, were lords of a fairly peaceful and coherent dominion that stretched from Kandahar to Calcutta and from the Vindhya Hills to the Himalayas. Aurangzeb, Shah Jehan's son, was more ambitious: he stormed through the Deccan, uprooting all the ancient Hindoo kingdoms of the south, and so was able to call himself the master of all India; but his conquests had really raised against the whole Mogul dominion every form of ruthless fanaticism which the intolerance and ambition of their enemy could excite in a warlike and bigotedly religious

people. The Mahratta power, more especially, became almost a centre of Hindoo patriotism in resisting Aurangzeb: and from his time dates the immitigable bitterness between Mahomedan and

Rise of the  
Mahratta  
power  
under  
Sivajee,  
1674.

Hindoo that even to-day flames up into religious riot through all the restraints of civilization and the bands of British law. The European companies hung on the outskirts of the tumult, quarrelling with each other over the valuable but precarious trade, and treated by the Mogul Emperors with the same half-contemptuous, half-irritated neutrality that we are apt to bestow on the squabbles and the trade competition of Syrians and Chinese.

Position of  
Europeans  
in India.

## CHAPTER III.

### ENGLAND AND FRANCE IN AMERICA.

#### A. *The Land and the Natives.*

We have now come to a time when colonial questions really begin to enter into English history. For more than a hundred years—years of continual war and rumours of war, broken only by spasmodic peaces—Britons over sea exert a more and more dominating influence upon the foreign policy of the mother country. The three central wars of the eighteenth century, between 1739 and 1783, are intimately connected with that group of settlements along the North American seaboard which to Englishmen of the day were *The Colonies*—so much so that when they were lost to the Empire the office of Secretary for the Colonies was at once abolished. But for fifty years before the first of these wars there had been active preparation for the great struggle; the conquest of Acadia prefigured and made necessary the conquest of Canada, and the strategy of 1759 had been anticipated during 1690 in every point but success.

# **NORTH AMERICA**

*to illustrate*  
**FRENCH & ENGLISH WAR.**



1914

We have already seen how five European nations shared the trade and the territory opened up by the enterprise of Henry the Navigator. Three of them, Spain, Portugal, and Holland as the spoiler of Portugal, exploited the tropical world ; France and England, both at the time real colonizers, worked side by side on the one temperate region which had been added to the map. During the latter half of the seventeenth century, when their settlements were really shaping themselves and feeling their way towards each other across the intervening wilderness, the policy of their rulers in Europe prohibited open enmity in America. But when at the Revolution of 1688 England not only cut loose from French protection, but openly challenged French hostility, Canada and New England were only too glad to gratify with straightforward fighting the bitterness which they had till then been forced to indulge under cover of Indian raids.

The begin-  
nings of  
hostility.

As we shall find again and again in this history, the long struggle was very much affected by the physical geography of its theatre. This was made up of two large river-valleys and a strip of coast-line, all running generally in a north-east and south-west direction\*. The French held the mouths of the river-

The geo-  
graphy of  
the fighting  
ground.

\*We have to deal with the Ohio-Mississippi valley rather than with the whole watershed of the Mississippi.

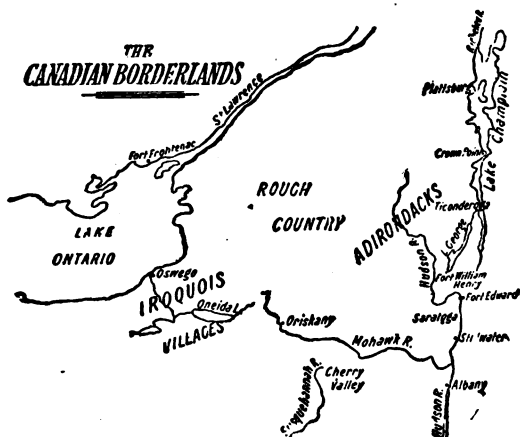
valleys, and claimed therefore jurisdiction over the whole of them; the English were in actual occupation of the whole coast strip from the Atlantic inland along the streams which run into it. Between the two stretched a low but difficult mountain range, which, where it divided the Ohio valley from Pennsylvania and the southern colonies, is a fairly compact chain of parallel ridges known as the Alleghanies; where New York and New England abutted on the St. Lawrence valley, it is very much more broken up, and goes by a dozen different names. It is with this part that we shall have most to do; for when the French in Canada and the colonists of New England wished to get at each other, they must pass either through or round the intricacies of the dividing range.

And there was one road through the confusion so simple and direct that it became at once and for more than a hundred years remained the highway of attack. The Richelieu River, entering the St. Lawrence just below Montreal, gives easy access southwards to Lake Champlain, from whose lower edge Lake George hangs like an ear-ring. From the southern end of Lake George it is but a few miles across to the Hudson, whose broad stream prolongs the southward line to the defences of New York. Along that line, and close to the water-parting, one finds most of the well-known forts and battlefields — Plattsburg, Crown Point, Ticonderoga, Fort William Henry,

The  
Hudson-  
Richelieu  
line.

Saratoga, West Point. A second route of invasion was provided by the Mohawk River, up which from its junction with the Hudson canoes could be taken close to Lake Oneida, and so down into Lake Ontario. The third line of

The Mohawk-Ontario line.



attack avoided the mountains altogether by using the sea route between the New England coast and the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

The sea-line.

Quite as important as the shape of the land were its native inhabitants. Roughly speaking, the French were in alliance with a number of scattered clans belonging to the Algonquin family, about 90,000 in number. They stretched along the whole dividing range from Nova Scotia round to Tennessee, and held terri-

The American Indians.



tory as far north-west as Lake Michigan. By their aid in later years the French were able to attack simultaneously the long line of English colonies, harrying Maine and Virginia alike with savage massacre. The tribes in the English alliance mustered less than 10,000; but they held a commanding position across the lines of invasion, breaking the Algonquin chain just where its continuity would have been most fatal to the English. Among them, moreover, were numbered the Iroquois, most daring and dreaded of all North American Indians, whose raids were known beyond the Mississippi, while for many years the whole of Upper Canada had been emptied of its Huron tribes (their own blood relations) to serve as their hunting-grounds. The French, in spite of them, replaced their victims in the ancestral domain; and in revenge through all the wars of the eighteenth century the Iroquois remained faithful allies of the English power.

Over such country and with such allies the Canadian and the New England settlers wrestled up and down for seventy years. To some

The  
European  
combatants; extent we may include the colonists of New York among the English forces; but the more southerly settlements took little note of the struggle till it was nearly over, while Georgia, a late arrival in the family, occupied itself with troubles of its own on the frontier of Spanish British Florida. Without their help the New

Englishers had a great preponderance in numbers over their opponents, mustering nearly 100,000 inhabitants between the Hudson and the Kennebec, while the whole Canadian population was not more than 12,000 scattered over Acadia, Cape Breton Island, and the St. <sup>and French.</sup> Lawrence valley from Quebec to Niagara. The 12,000, however, were under one head, many of them wandering hunters by profession, and always ready to fall in with the habits and ideas of their Indian allies. The 100,000 were split up into five bodies, almost as jealous of each other as of the common enemy—war meant to them perhaps the destruction, in any case the neglect, of their farms—and in their utmost need they could never quite make up their minds to trust the Indians, or treat them with even the most dignified friendliness.

#### B. *Indian Wars.*

For a long time there had been petty disputes between the French and the Iroquois, marked on both sides by diplomatic cunning that almost amounted to treachery; and whenever it seemed probable that some French envoy might win over the wavering tribes messages <sup>Preliminary fencing.</sup> came hastily from Albany to keep them firm in the English alliance. The contest was not without its humour, the English governor vaunting his rum against the Frenchman's brandy, and soothing him with a gift of oranges which unfortunately

arrived all rotten. English traders, meanwhile, pushed up and across Lake Erie, where the French built a fort at Detroit to stop them, and there was already a rumour that Virginian settlers had designs on the Ohio. When in 1689 Count Frontenac arrived at Montreal with news of the English Revolution and consequent war with France, he was able at once to hurl three Indian war-parties upon the half-unready colonists. New York was his chief aim, both because of its close alliance with the Iroquois, and because by occupying the Hudson valley he would cut the English colonies in half and give France a short and almost ice-free route to the Lakes ; but the New Englanders were not spared, on the pretext that they were in revolt against their lawful King James II. The success of these raids was complete. The injured colonies were driven by them into a lax confederation, which attempted to retaliate by attacks on Quebec and Montreal ; but they had no leader, nor any real unanimity—the expedition against Montreal wasted itself in futile farm burnings, and that against Quebec, after being delayed in favour of a useless capture of Port Royal in Acadia, was thrown away by the incapacity of its commander. The Iroquois were disgusted at the weakness of the men who had been urging them

Detroit  
fortified,  
1686.

War of the  
Grand  
Alliance,  
1689-97.

Frontenac's  
invasion,  
1690.

Congress at  
New York,  
1690.

Port Royal  
taken by  
Phips,  
May 11.

Failure be-  
fore Quebec,  
October.

against the French; for a time they fought on by themselves, besetting the banks of the Ottawa, down which must come all trade from the west for Montreal; but they were wise enough to see how far more powerful was Frontenac than Corlaer and Kinshon,\* and gradually drew back into a position of armed neutrality. Still they protected the northern borders of New York, and steadfastly refused to make peace with Frontenac unless the English were included in the treaty.

The brunt of war now fell heavily on New England. War, perhaps, one can hardly call it, for the tale is mainly of savage raids upon the little farming settlements that dotted the woods of Massachusetts and New Hampshire. <sup>Indian raids on New England.</sup> It is from these years of sudden torture and massacre that the American of to-day inherits his hatred for "Indian vermin;" though even the worst cruelties of the Abenaki and Huron "converts" were abetted and aped and exceeded by the French.†

Before the Peace of Ryswick restored to each side what it possessed in 1689, Frontenac was able to record the recapture of Acadia, the destruction of the English fishing settlements in New-

\*The Iroquois personifications of New York and New England.

†Frontenac offered rewards for English scalps—but he was never quite sure that all the scalps he paid for were English.

D'Iberville expels the English from Newfoundland and Hudson's Bay, 1697. foundland and their principal fort on Hudson's Bay, and the freeing of Canadian trade with the West from all Iroquois attacks. He had, in fact, established French Canada as the dominating power on the North American continent, supreme from Cape Race to New Orleans. What warriors could do to maintain that supremacy was done: but to fight the advancing and increasing numbers of the English settlers, settlers were required. France had them—during these very years she was pouring out hundreds of families to populate the West Indies and the Cape Colony. But these were her neglected children, the Huguenots: and the French monarchy had no mind to repeat the experience of its neighbour and allow Canada to become a French Massachusetts. The Edict of Nantes had been revoked because it seemed to Louis XIV. and his ministers increasingly important that all France should be of one religion, and French colonies could not be excepted. So the Huguenots, the one great colonizing body that France has produced, spent their nation-making powers under other flags: and Canada was left with its serfs and trappers to build weak dykes against the incoming sea of English trade and tillage.

In 1702 the war broke out afresh in Europe, blown into flame by a desperate scheme of Louis XIV. After much intriguing he had

secured his grandson's accession to the throne of Spain, hoping thereby to reinforce his own strength with all the trade of the Netherlands and all the gold of Spanish America. He knew well that no peaceful arts would induce his arch-enemy, William III., to acquiesce in this arrangement, and so drove England willy-nilly into war by openly recognizing the Pretender as its rightful king. Thence followed that war "of the Spanish Succession", which we know best from the victories of Marlborough : but the influence of America was ever present in the minds of English statesmen. It was the era of the Union with Scotland, and men talked bitterly of the ruin that had overtaken a Scottish colony at Darien. The alliance with Portugal, too, was intended to counterbalance Louis' gains from the colonies of Spain ; the inflow of Peruvian silver was to be met by an inrush of gold from Brazil. Anne's ministers were looking westward, and the renewed misfortunes of New England were not neglected. The Queen herself paid for the equipment of four Massachusetts regiments, and in 1711 Marlborough himself was deprived of valuable troops that might have ended the European war in order to make an attack on Quebec. Not till the days of Pitt, however, was England to understand that America needed good generals as well as good troops ; the expedition

War of the  
Spanish  
Succession,  
1702-13.

Union of  
England  
and Scot-  
land, 1707.

Failure of  
attack on  
Quebec,  
Aug., 1711.

failed miserably, and a companion raid on Montreal was abandoned in consequence. Still, the New Englanders had deserved better help. Three times, under the stress of Abenaki and Huron savagery, they had struck at Acadia, the one French possession which they could easily reach; the third time they took the chief town,

Capture of  
Port Royal,  
Sept., 1710.

Port Royal, with the regiments the Queen had armed, and gratefully re-named their capture Annapolis. Nor were they forgotten in the treaty of peace. Canada had always

Treaty of  
Utrecht,  
Apr. 11, 1713.

been Louis' favourite colony, but Acadia was forced from him; the cession of an undefined northern region round Hudson's Bay was of less importance to him, since his officers had by now secured the control of the Great Lakes with a fort at Detroit, and contrived some sort of organization in the huge province of Louisiana, that stretched from Lake Erie to the Mexican Gulf and from the Alleghanies into the unknown West. From a strategic point of view France was still dominant, and the acquisition of Acadia by Britain did but add one more easily-raided settlement to the long weak line of her Atlantic possessions.

### C. *The Treaty of Utrecht and its Results.*

#### [COLONIAL TERMS OF THE TREATY.]

- (a) *Hudson's Bay and Straits* to remain British.
- (b) *Acadia* "with its ancient boundaries", and *Newfoundland*, to be handed over to Britain; but French fishermen

- allowed to dry their fish on the Newfoundland coast from Cape Bonavista to Point Riche.
- (c) French in Canada not to interfere with the "Five Nations" (Iroquois) subject to Britain.
  - (d) *St. Kitts* to be wholly British.
  - (e) Spain to cede to Britain *Gibraltar* and *Minorca*.
  - (f) *Assiento* to be given to Britain, also privilege of trade with the Spanish Main (one ship a year only).
  - (g) No other powers to be allowed to trade with the Main, and no Spanish colonies to be alienated.]

As a treaty of peace this Treaty of Utrecht is a great paradox. No treaty made between civilized states has ever embodied more challenges to war, not even that recent one that transferred Alsace and Lorraine to Germany, and has since <sup>The treaty full of causes for war.</sup> made Europe an armed camp. Of the *Assiento* we shall speak at length in the chapter on Africa. We retained Gibraltar, and with it for a hundred years the bitter enmity of Spain. While reclaiming Newfoundland, we left to France precisely those indefinite privileges which must always be, and have been ever since, a running sore on the colony's prosperity. We gained Acadia "with its ancient boundaries," and the vagueness of the phrase sanctioned forty years of massacre among Acadian forests. And we bound France over to recognize the Iroquois territory as under the dominion of the King of England—and stretched that expression at last to include every foot of ground that might have known

\*It was 26 years from the Treaty of Utrecht to the war of "Jenkins' Ear."



an Iroquois raid, every bay that had seen the furrow of their daring war-canoes.

Yet this explosive instrument—more like an infernal machine than a treaty of peace—secured for Great

Britain the longest spell of tranquillity she  
Reason why  
war did not  
follow. enjoyed between the Armada and Waterloo.

This arose from two causes. In the first place, the points in dispute were nicely apportioned between France and Spain: and the death of Louis XIV. in 1715 severed the alliance between these nations and turned them into suspicious neighbours. Louis XV. was not at all interested in colonial matters, and was quite willing to trust his naval foreign policy in English hands—an arrangement which so weakened the French fleet as to be the real cause of his loss both of India and Canada. In the second place, the British ministers, whose fortunes were bound up with the Hanoverian succession, dreaded a French-supported Jacobite invasion too much to insist on any point of dispute which might lead to a quarrel with France. As for Spain, if she provoked a war, the British fleets were powerful enough to paralyse her both in the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, and so hold her struggling but innocuous till she was tired. The danger was, after 1715 as before, a Franco-Spanish league: till that came about Britain could watch with little concern the vagaries of the continental states.

Meanwhile, British commerce flourished mightily. A king had made the war, but merchants made the

peace—as the Tories found when next year they tried to negotiate a Commercial Treaty with France, of which the merchants did not approve. And among the merchant adventurers who were encircling the globe with their trade-routes there appeared a great company—the South Sea Company—which hoped to exploit the Spanish markets in South America. The British Government gave all possible help, turning over to the Company such scanty privileges of trade with the Spanish Main as had been wrung from the kings at Utrecht. Year by year, lawfully and still more by smuggling, the company's business increased: till in 1720 a gigantic scheme was formed for lending the Government enough money to pay off the scattered National Debt of  $\pounds 31,000,000$ , saving it 1 per cent. in interest, and giving it a bonus of  $\pounds 7,500,000$  for the privilege of doing so. The transaction in itself was feasible; the very possibilities of the scheme, indeed, proved its ruin. For people rushed to buy shares, at first in this, then in any company that promised big dividends:  $\pounds 100$  shares went up to  $\pounds 1,000$ , and money was flung at the heads of the wildest projectors. The South Sea directors took alarm, and procured the downfall of a large number of bogus speculations. But in that whirl of excitement nothing could be done steadily: with the fall in other shares the Company's own shares fell as quickly and unreasonably as they had risen: and the directors found themselves helpless before a raging crowd of disappointed speculators, whose losses

Commercial  
expansion.

The 'South  
Sea Bubble,'  
June-Aug.,  
1720.

they were forced partly to recoup from the wreck of their own estates.

At this crisis a great financier was needed, and Walpole was found. He remitted the bonus of *Rise of Wal-* £7,500,000 and gave the Company a little *pole: his* breathing time, so that it was found in the *supremacy,* end that its shares had never even fallen *1721-39.* below par. It seemed to England that Walpole had saved the State, and from that time began his long supremacy over Parliament and the nation, only to be broken at last by the troubles of that same South Sea trade to whose vicissitudes he owed his advance.

Coming into power by such means, Walpole could not but feel how dangerous to genuine commercial success was the existence of monopolies. *His free-* It *trade policy.* was the prospect of a huge monopoly that had so fatally inflated the price of the South Sea Company's shares, and when things were quiet again, and the rescued Company set to work to utilize its privileges, their results were every year more disappointing. It is, therefore, easy to understand that Walpole's colonial policy tended always to remove restrictions on trade, such as the conventional attitude of all European mother-countries still imposed on their colonies. Our North American colonies more especially felt the burden of these restrictions, because they were the only manufacturing colonies then in existence. From Canada, from Mexico, from the Spanish Main, the exports were mainly of raw material—skins or precious metals; from New England the

colonists would gladly have sent not merely wool and iron, but the myriad products of wool and iron worked up among their own people. The English merchant's theory of trade was quite different; the colonies existed to supply him with raw material, to take from him his manufactured goods; if the colonists had other aspirations they must be made to understand the truth. The merchant, in fact, was no logician; he held himself to be far above a Spaniard, but forgot the corollary that his New England countryman was equally far above a Mexican.

The mercantile theory of colonization.

Walpole made no attempt to teach him better. He was in power during dangerous times, and he saw no politician as able as himself to preserve the peace which England needed. The welfare of the country, he thought, demanded that he should retain power somehow—and certainly the history of fourteen years after his fall confirmed his belief. A man in such a position must be an opportunist; he must be ready to sacrifice his most cherished ideas about law-making and to pass laws that violate them, so long as he can keep a hold on the administration of the government. So Walpole's colonial policy was framed on the same lines as all the rest of his work; he pacified the merchants by making laws as restrictive as they desired, and soothed the colonists by letting those laws remain as nearly as possible a dead letter. When the Pelhams came into power they continued the same policy, from sheer laziness

Walpole's opportunism.

rather than from conviction. And so the theory and the practice of Britain's colonial relations were separated more and more, till a sudden attempt to wrest them back into coincidence brought about the loss of America. Walpole, with his South Sea Bubble experience, created the situation that ended in the American Revolution.

There was much else to be done in the intervening fifty years before such an ending could be possible. The South Sea Company and its half-legitimate trade with Spanish colonies had other mischief to do. The family relations between the French and Spanish Crowns were still capable of wrecking European peace. The Bourbon Family Compact, 1733- In 1733 the Franco-Spanish league was revived; the two Bourbon powers were to combine against Austria and England, damaging in every possible way Austria's supremacy in Germany and Italy, and England's supremacy in commerce. Walpole knew of this: but he knew also that while France had no immediate desire to crush England, the Spanish Queen had a bitter hatred of Austria, and the alliance was therefore likely to threaten Austria first and leave England alone for some time. Walpole is for peace: So more urgently than ever he insisted on peace, every year of which added to the wealth of the country, and made more popular the Hanoverian dynasty that began to seem synonymous with prosperity.

But the nations were too strong for their rulers.

With the fall of the Stuarts personal attachment to a dynasty had died out in England : the accession of the House of Hanover marks the rise of commerce to power in the political world. <sup>the merchants insist on war.</sup> And prosperous though the merchants were, their very prosperity made their few grievances more irritating and less bearable. A single English ship of 500 tons burden might lawfully each year enter the harbour of Porto Bello on the Spanish Main : besides that one no vessel was allowed to bring British goods for sale in the markets Spain jealously guarded for herself. Yet every year the South American colonists managed to smuggle in the forbidden wares. <sup>Smuggling on the Spanish Main.</sup> The one admitted merchant vessel, men said, used to discharge cargo by day and fill up again nightly from storeships that lay further out at sea ; strange craft put in for shelter at unlikely places, and disappeared lighter than they came. The Spanish customs-officers, irritated by such successful trickery, and fretted always by the want of support from their own colonists—for why should a Carthagena man aid in getting revenue to be used in Madrid ?—made their rules stricter and stricter, their search of suspected vessels more and more inquisitorial. They had right on their side, and pressed it to the verge of tyranny ; their cunning enemies, usually outwitting them, were loudly and virtuously indignant at Spanish insolence. London, which during the eighteenth century controlled England almost as surely as Paris does France, was wild with excitement ; and the statesmanship of

Walpole collapsed like a house of cards at the dramatic advent of Captain Jenkins.

This redoubtable person, a ship-captain from Jamaica, was lucky enough to have somewhere lost one of his ears. Lost from his head, that is Jenkins' ear.

—for he kept the severed ear, and now produced it most opportunely. Six years ago, he said, Spanish customs officers had raided his ship illegally, and finding nothing had torn the ear off, bidding him send it to the King of England with a message that they would do the same to him if they caught him. "And what were your feelings," asked the captain's admirers, "in face of this outrage?" Jenkins rose to the occasion. "I commended," he said with due gravity, "I commended my soul to my God and my cause to my country." His country went wild with excitement; Walpole might plead, and Walpole might negotiate, but the public preferred Jenkins; and nine years of mismanaged war was England's reward for her misplaced credulity.

*D. North America, 1714-48.*

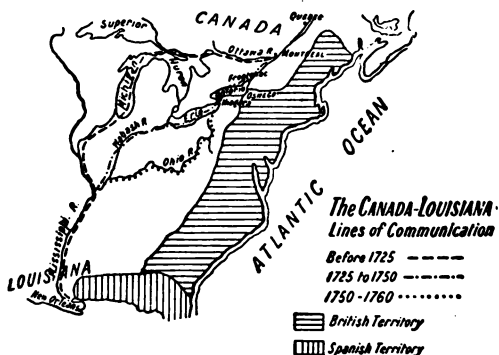
Meanwhile in North America the colonies of France and England had been steadily expanding along the lines of least resistance. The New England Colonial settlers devoted themselves to occupying more completely the land within their own borders, and found quite enough to do in compromising disputes among themselves as to where those borders were. Spare time was filled up by quarrels between the governors, who were appointed by and under the con-

trol of the Crown, and the assemblies, who kept a very tight hand on the purse-strings and absolutely refused to make fixed grants for the governor's salary or for any purpose beyond their own colony's bounds. As a natural result of these two sets of disputes each colony grew as jealous of the rest as it was of the mother country, and any idea of confederate action became more and more helpless.

Federation  
a vanishing  
quantity.

While the English strip was troubled with these internal dissensions, the two great French provinces were being bound more firmly together.\* The old line of communications had been forced by Iroquois raids into a long curve

Consolidation  
of New  
France.



\* It is a mark of the gradual consolidation of Canada and Louisiana that Law's Mississippi Company (a French counterpart of the South Sea Company, and still less fortunate) held for some time the monopoly of Canadian beaver-skins.



through the Ottawa River and Lakes Nipissing, Huron, and Michigan : but in a few years after the peace a fort at Lewiston on Lake Ontario, and another at Niagara, not many miles beyond, secured for Canada the control of the western fur trade and shortened the French line of defence by several hundred miles. New York was always in peace-time disturbed by quarrels between the Albany Dutch, who welcomed trade under any flag, and the authorities in New York City, who objected to any trade with the common enemy ; and while the Governor did, after a time, confront the new French forts in Ontario with a blockhouse on its southern shore at Oswego, he was much more anxious about Fort Edward on the main Hudson-Richelieu line, which was to break the traffic between Albany and Montreal. The Canadian authorities were quite a little inclined to favour this intercourse, and a few years later built a strong fort at Crown Point\*, where Lake Champlain narrows considerably.

While France was thus strengthening her hold on the territories she retained, she was no less eager to make useless the concessions forced from her at Utrecht. The Hudson's Bay Territory then handed over to England comprised only the waters of the bay, its coasts, and the inland country to some distance on the east and south. A

Explorations of de la Verendrye.

\* Really "Scalp Point"—an euphemistic translation of the French "Point de la Chevelure," so named for obvious reasons.

French explorer, de la Verendrye, who was in command of a fort on Lake Superior, set to work to block all English expansion westward. He pushed his explorations past Lake Winnipeg and up the Saskatchewan River, establishing forts along the road to overawe the Indian tribes and act as depôts for their trade. His son pushed further on still, and some claim for him the first sight of the Rocky Mountains; but he was at any rate able to set at rest the generally believed rumour that the Pacific Ocean was to be reached by some great river joining either the Mississippi or the St. Lawrence.

As for Acadia, its recapture was the dearest wish of every Frenchman in Montreal. No step was taken that might lead away from that end: no sacrifice was too great for it. The English <sup>Acadian policy of England</sup> policy was from the first one of peace: the Acadians were left undisturbed in their possessions, neither their customs nor their religion were meddled with, and when they met with evasion several mild requests that they should swear allegiance to the king of England, their excuses were again and again accepted. The French began by offering to ship to Cape Breton Island all who preferred to remain French subjects: but no ships were sent—the <sup>and France.</sup> Acadians were much more useful where they were. Then for sixteen years the Governor of Cape Breton saw to it that Acadia remained stubborn against all English offers. They wished to be French subjects; the farmers of Mines protested—they were

only anxious to emigrate to French soil: but they could not think of doing so unless the British Government arranged for their passage and bought all the property they did not take with them. "If we take the oath to King George"—this was another excuse—"the Indians will slay us": and then they went away to stir up Indian attacks on British trading vessels, and on the two wretched forts at Annapolis and Canseau which were the only signs of British dominion in the peninsula.

There was a very different scene beyond Canseau Strait. At Utrecht the French diplomatists had clung unshakably to Cape Breton, and the first moment of peace saw it strongly occupied.

France occupies Cape Breton Id., After some years of hesitation a new fortress was begun in 1720 on its south-eastern corner; and for twenty years the defences of Louisbourg and builds Louisbourg. grew and multiplied, New England traders supplying not a little of the material which was to shelter their deadliest enemies: for Louisbourg, men said in France, might yet rival Dunkirk as a base for privateering. It was not surprising that the Acadians should still hope for restoration to French hands; so in 1730, after much haggling, a strong Governor of Annapolis forced on them the oath of allegiance to George II., with much attention to the niceties of French grammar, lest they should outwit him by swearing to a meaningless form of words. But even when the peninsula was nominally peaceful there was still trouble brewing on the mainland. There had

never been French settlements between the lower St. Lawrence and the Bay of Fundy ; that forest-ridden maze of land was left to roving Indians, mostly of the Abenaki tribe. For many years after 1713 the English made attempts to settle on some definite boundary in that quarter between Canada and Massachusetts\* ; but the French had no intention of letting anything intervene between them and their lost Acadian province. So the land from the Kennebec eastward was deliberately kept desolate ; when the Indians themselves made a peace with New England, missionaries were sent from Montreal and from France itself to excite them again to war. We had a thirty years' peace with France in Europe, it is true, but not for one single year of the thirty was France honestly at peace with us in America.

So, when the war of Jenkins' ear broke out, and when a little later the two colonizing nations came to open hostility in Europe, North America was quite ready for the fray. Acadia was at once invaded by a mixed force of Indians and French from Louisbourg, and Annapolis narrowly escaped capture. New England, aided by a grant of money from New York, retaliated with spirit on Louisbourg. Shirley, the Governor of Massachusetts, with great secrecy organized an expedition of thirteen ships and four thousand men, all colonial ; orders

War  
between  
England  
and Spain,  
1739-48.

War of the  
Austrian  
Succession,  
1741-5.

France de-  
clares war  
against En-  
gland, 1744.

\* Massachusetts then held the district which is now the State of Maine.

from London sent the West Indian squadron up to help him by intercepting any rescuing force: the siege, which lasted forty-nine days, was carried on against a much-puzzled garrison by men full of life, who cheerily sledged their cannon across morasses and spent their leisure time in athletics. When the fortress capitulated, the victors thought it a fine joke to keep the French flag flying, and caught three of the enemy's merchantmen with valuable cargoes before the trick was discovered.

Capture of  
Louisbourg  
by colonists,  
June 17,  
1745.

The war was not one of brilliant successes, and this one would have been notable in any war. Boston, of course, was triumphant, and London for the moment scarcely less so. Shirley and Pepperell, the commanders of the New England force, were made colonels in the regular army, and allowed to enrol their own regiments, which are now the 50th and 51st. And there the mother country's enthusiasm came to a sudden stop. Two days after the news of Louisbourg came the news of a Jacobite rising in the Highlands, and American affairs lost their interest. The Duke of Newcastle, than whom Britain has had no more incapable Minister, made promises as lightly as he forgot them, saving himself trouble in both ways. Shirley planned a double attack on Canada, by sea against Quebec and by Lake Champlain against Montreal: the northern colonies, now all afire with victorious ardour, raised troops for the enterprise—and the next

The Young  
Pretender  
lands in  
Scotland,  
July 23, 1745.

news from Europe was that they were left to themselves, not only in the attack, but even for defence. Without hindrance from the British Government a large fleet had left La Rochelle to recapture Louisbourg and Acadia and punish sharply the rash colonists who had insolently challenged the power of France. Canada took heart again, and French-Indian raids destroyed the fort at Saratoga and drove our Acadian garrison within the half-ruined walls of Annapolis. New England awaited with grim anxiety an invasion that never came. Forty-one fighting ships, besides many transports, had put out of harbour; seven warships and as many transports put in to Chebucto. Storms shattered the great fleet, driving part of it home again to be captured in sight of France; fever and dysentery decimated the crews and troops. The admiral died of apoplexy, the vice-admiral committed suicide. The seven ships made one more desperate attempt to reach Annapolis, and sailed into another storm. The invasion had collapsed without sighting an enemy.

Next year France made another attempt to reinforce its Canadian colony. But by this time the Highlands were quiet again, and the British fleet was on the lookout. Anson destroyed one fleet and Hawke another. In Europe France was losing ground, in spite of fine fighting on the part of her generals. Prussia had retired from the war, the only gainer by it. Everyone else was tired of it. Early in 1748, Britain, France, and Holland

Flight off  
Finisterre,  
May 3, 1747;  
Belleisle,  
Oct. 14.

came to terms, and in October signed the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle. It was as inconclusive as the war had been. The commercial troubles which began the war were not even mentioned: the disputed boundaries in North America were mentioned only to postpone a solution of the difficulty. The one tangible result for Britain was a demonstration of the dangers of wide empire. More than ever the French Government saw their need of Louisbourg: to get it back they offered Madras, which a French expedition had wrested from our East India Company: and the New Englanders found their cherished trophy of victory once more in the possession of a vindictive enemy. The exchange was wise, from an imperial point of view. A French Louisbourg meant danger in North America, but a French Madras meant our expulsion from India. But to the men who had taken the fortress, who had done the one big thing of a miserable war, it was a cruel disappointment.

E. *The French advance all along the line.*

To the French in Canada this peace meant simply better opportunities for carrying on the war. No one expected it to last for long; in a few years Europe would be again ablaze, and communications with home, always the weakest point of Canadian defence, would be in daily danger. While they had time, they must make their lines solid from end to end. Louisbourg must be made impreg-

Treaty of  
Aix-la-  
Chapelle.

The French  
position  
strengthened.

nable, Acadia uninhabitable, Lake Champlain and the Great Lakes impassable by English invaders, and the Louisiana road, still too devious for safety, must be shortened and strengthened through its whole length. The new fortifications at Louisbourg so alarmed the British Government that a counterstroke was determined on. Within nine months of the peace a fleet of emigrant ships sailed into Chebucto Bay, and in <sup>Halifax founded, 1749.</sup> three years the ramparts of Halifax contained four thousand souls. Canseau was abandoned, Annapolis neglected, and the new post became—as its natural strength demanded—the centre of British power in the north-east. But beyond its walls French influence was practically supreme. The plan of campaign, decided on in Paris, was carried <sup>France stirs up rebellion in Acadia.</sup> out with unflinching ferocity. The “ancient boundaries” of Acadia, to which the Treaty of Utrecht referred, were still in dispute; the French resolved that at most they should embrace the peninsula only. Forts were built to command the isthmus at the head of <sup>Fort Beau-sejour built, 1749.</sup> Chignecto Bay; and within the territory thus left nominally to England tribes of Micmac Indians roamed to and fro, under their fierce director the missionary Le Loutre, scalping the settlers near Halifax, terrifying such Acadians as showed a wish to become quietly subjects of King George, and often forcing the unwilling farmers to abandon their



homes and cross the border to die of hunger round the French forts. English scalps were paid for, and all necessary supplies were furnished from Louisbourg. The Acadians themselves were not thought of in the matter. The Governor of Acadia proclaimed them rebels if they did not take the oath of allegiance to Louis XV and enrol themselves in the Canadian militia. The Governor of Halifax, more mildly, threatened death to all who had taken the oath to King George and afterwards armed against him. Le Loutre threatened waverers with Indian raids, and demanded the cession of half the peninsula as a reserve for his Micmacs. So, the Micmacs being everywhere, and the English only at Halifax and on the isthmus (where they had opposed fort to fort), even the most peace-loving of the Acadians gradually drifted back under French influence, and met with half-hostile non-compliance every demand and every persuasion of their lawful rulers.

Fort Lawrence built,  
1750

Along the Lakes all the forts were strengthened, and a large vessel was launched on Lake Ontario, where the English post at Oswego seriously damaged French trade. Everything was done that Canadian diplomacy could suggest to win over the Iroquois: at one time nothing but the personal influence of William Johnson, a young Irish settler on the Mohawk River, restrained the Five Nations from

Intrigues  
among the  
Iroquois.

a general raid on their former friends. There was nothing certainly in their relations with the New York people to encourage either friendship or respect: the Albany Dutch cheated them right and left, and the New York Assembly was so indifferent to danger that the Governor had to maintain the Oswego fort out of his own pocket.

At one point only were British colonists as active as the French. The Ohio valley The Ohio valley was full of all manner of Indian communities, including stragglers from Iroquois as well as from Huron and Abenaki tribes. In 1749 the first official expedition from Montreal crossed the watershed of Lake Erie and launched its canoes on Lake Chautauqua; entered by Celoron de Bienville, 1749; but as it sailed down the Alleghany River towards the Ohio, it found English traders already on friendly terms with the natives. A year before, two exploring parties had pushed across the rough Alleghany ridges, one from by Walker, 1748. southern Virginia on the Kanawha River, one by the Potomac valley to the upper waters of the Monogahela, which runs north to meet the Alleghany, and with it forms the Ohio. The French expedition could only warn these intruding traders to leave French territory—a warning promptly disregarded; but formal possession was taken of the valley by the simple process The Ohio Company (Virginia) founded, 1749. of nailing tin plates bearing the French insignia to trees here and there. In 1753

a new governor, Duquesne by name, mustered a really strong force for the occupation of the disputed territory, and fortified posts on the portage between Lake Erie and the Alleghany.

The northern colonies were inactive; but Dinwiddie, governor of Virginia, woke at once to the imminent peril, and boldly sent off a young militia officer to the new forts with a demand that the French should at once evacuate them. So daring and dramatic is the first appearance in history of the man who broke a great empire in half and created the great republic; for George Washington was the governor's messenger.

Dinwiddie had sent the news to England, with a request to be given a free hand in acting. He got it—he was authorized to build forts and to fight if need be, and ordered to expel “any number of persons” who might dare to build forts in opposition to him. But all this was to be done at the cost of the colony; and the Virginian assembly was hard to deal with. After pressure it voted money “for the defence of the frontier,” but the frontier was an indefinite locality; money for work across the mountains it would not vote, not knowing whom the expenditure would benefit.\* From Carolina,

\* The vague western boundaries of Virginia and Pennsylvania clashed in that region. The Virginian claim ran north-west, continuing the general line of the Potomac across

however, came a fairly strong detachment, and with these and his own men Dinwiddie took the offensive. But he was challenging, though he did not know it, the organized strength of France. His volunteers pushed forward to fortify the Alleghany-Monongahela junction; they were turned out by a large French force, Fort Duquesne built, 1754. and Fort Duquesne was built on the site that they had chosen. Washington, with all the men he could collect, marched to recapture the position; he burst upon a French force lying in ambush and destroyed it utterly; but within a month reinforcements from Canada thrust him back to a camp at Fort Necessity, and compelled him to surrender on condition Surrender of Fort Necessity, July 4. that his men should be allowed to retire safely into Virginia.

These definite acts of war forced the hand of the British Government, which had been trying for the last five years to settle peaceably the disputed boundaries in North America. A commission sat at Paris to adjust conflicting claims; but they were quite irreconcilable. The Boundary Commission, 1750-54. On the French side the argument was that the nation which holds river-mouths owns the river-basins. Quebec and New Orleans, therefore, would secure for France every foot of soil

a vast region up to and beyond Lake Superior; Pennsylvania thrust hers like a solid bar into the heart of the Ohio valley.

France  
claims river  
basins: whose rain drained off either into the  
Britain  
claims 'Hin-  
terland.' Mississippi or the St. Lawrence. The  
 British commissioners believed in what we now  
 know as the *Hinterland*\* theory: the nation that  
 holds the coast, they said, holds the land  
 behind it as far as it likes to go. They  
 insisted, moreover, upon the Iroquois  
 clause in the Treaty of Utrecht. The treaty  
 acknowledged the Five Nations to be British  
 subjects: therefore, their conquests were British  
 possessions: and as every Iroquois raid was a con-  
 quest, this extended British North America from  
 Montreal to Michigan and away indefinitely into  
 the lands round Hudson's Bay. Acadia was  
 treated in the same way. "From the St. Lawrence  
 to New England," said the British commissioners  
 —"the bare southern coast of the peninsula,"  
 rejoined the French: and one bold man suggested  
 that if only the English had been "more tractable,  
 less grasping, and more conciliatory," France  
 might as well have asked for Halifax too. But on  
 the whole, while the French claims were extrava-  
 gant, those of the British were preposterous: and  
 it was a relief to both sides when Washington's  
 musket-shots broke in upon the strained peace.

#### F. Mismanaged War.

In spite of Canadian aggression the various colonies were little disposed to unite for self-

\* A German word, meaning 'back country.'

defence. The Virginians insisted on an undignified squabble with Dinwiddie before they would grant him supplies. The Pennsylvanians, half German, half Quaker, wholly pig-headed, renewed a dispute about their constitution, and bluntly told the Governor that they preferred French conquest to giving up their privileges. New York quibbled over the territorial question. Only Shirley of New England, who had been a member of the lapsed boundary commission, came back from Paris full of energy, and began at once a diversion by marching into the lands beyond the Kennebec. At home, however, the matter was treated more seriously. Two regiments under General Braddock were sent to Virginia, where Dinwiddie and Shirley, with four more colonial governors, met the new commander in a council of war.

The colonies disunited and indifferent.

Braddock sent from England to manage the war, 1755.

The arrangements were simple and straightforward. There were now four lines of communication between the French and English colonies. Each was to be used—though war had not been declared—for an attack on the enemy's country. A body of New Englanders was to seize the hostile forts in Acadia, with Louisbourg in view for future efforts. Johnson was to march with a mixed force of colonists and Iroquois against Crown Point. Shirley himself, with the two regiments raised after the fall of

The plan of campaign.

Louisbourg, would take the Mohawk River route to Lake Ontario and destroy the forts at Niagara. Braddock and his newly-arrived troops, with the Virginian volunteers, were responsible for the capture of Fort Duquesne.

Nine months before this representatives of New England, New York, Pennsylvania, and Maryland had met in Congress at Albany to make a

The Albany  
congress,  
1754.

fresh alliance with the half-alienated Iroquois. Benjamin Franklin, the chief delegate from Pennsylvania, had seized the occasion to propose a general federation, and his colleagues had listlessly accepted it. But now that federated action was urgently necessary, no trace of it was to be found. Each colony quarrelled with the rest about expenses, about command, about the number of troops to be raised and the work they were to do. Franklin himself

Franklin. is a notable example of the narrowness of these local patriotisms, as Washington is of the fine national patriotism that becomes a great man. Where Pennsylvania was not concerned, as in the case of Braddock's expedition (which was to march through Virginia), Franklin could be zealous for the success of British arms; if his own State was called upon, he became at once a querulous and quibbling partisan. The same man who in May personally procured for Braddock nearly all his transport waggons, spent November in exciting the Pennsylvanian Assembly to refuse a war-vote,

till the enemy was within sixty miles of Philadelphia.

Braddock's expedition was the first to start. With fourteen hundred regular soldiers, and about five hundred Virginians under Washington, he advanced to Fort Cumberland The Ohio Valley expedition. near the headwaters of the Potomac, and began to cut a road through primeval forest so that the army could move with all its paraphernalia. In eight days twenty miles were covered, and Washington advised his commander to leave the heavy baggage and push on with the best of his troops. Braddock pushed on accordingly—at the rate of four miles a day or so. This dawdling ruined all: it gave the French leaders time to cheer up their wavering Indian allies—for since Washington's repulse every Ohio Valley Indian was on the French side—and encouraged them at last to take the offensive. On the ninth of July Braddock reached a ford of the Monongahela, only eight miles from Fort Duquesne. The ford, to his surprise, was undefended, and his little Fight near Fort Duquesne, July 9, 1755. army marched across and along the further bank in a well ordered array. The advanced guard had crossed a little gully and the flat beyond it, and was just crossing a second gully, when a force of about nine hundred French and Indians appeared in its front. The front files checked and fired: the main body came up to support them. Immediately every enemy



disappeared from view : but from behind trees on all sides, and from the two gullies, just deep enough to serve as rifle-pits, a continuous fire poured in upon the crowded English. For three hours they stood thus, firing wildly at an invisible foe, but too helplessly puzzled to follow their officers into the death-giving forest : then Braddock, wounded and in despair, ordered a retreat, and a panic-stricken mob melted away along the newly-made road. In a day and a-half they were sixty-seven miles from the scene of disaster, infecting the reserves with their own fears. The baggage and ammunition was destroyed : Fort Cumberland was disgracefully abandoned — for Braddock's death soon after the fight left a coward in command ; and the road constructed with so much labour became a highway for all the savagery of the West, let loose by France upon the scattered settlers of Virginia and Pennsylvania.

While Braddock was still at Fort Cumberland another part of the fourfold scheme of attack was in process of execution. Monckton, the commander at Halifax, landed on the Acadian isthmus a force consisting mainly of New England volunteers. Vergor, the French commandant, sent hastily for help to Louisbourg, and set Le Loutre to dragoon his flock into making some sort of defence. But Louisbourg was already blockaded by a British fleet, and the miserable garrison of Fort Beausejour (its con-

Retreat of  
Dunbar.

The sub-  
jugation of  
Acadia.

mander included) was chiefly anxious not to be killed. Vergor surrendered without much resistance; Le Loutre escaped in disguise, <sup>Surrender of Fort Beausejour, June 16.</sup> only to be caught on his way to France and thrown into an English prison. The other French forts on Acadian ground were given up without fighting. Acadia was at last mastered, and Monckton took measures to secure its absolute obedience in future.

The mistakes of the last forty years must not be repeated. Yet his New England troops were there only for the summer, and their departure would certainly be the signal for fresh efforts on the French side to recapture the province. <sup>Expulsion of the Acadians, Sep. to Nov.</sup> As long as the Acadians were left in it, such efforts might at any time be successful. Therefore—he decided with some reluctance—the Acadians must go. Shirley and Lawrence, the governor of the province, agreed with his decision. One pities the unfortunate farmers while admitting that they deserved it. Their fathers, made British subjects by the act of the French king, had refused either to leave British territory or to obey British rulers. They themselves had been born under the British flag; but they followed in their fathers' footsteps, and no small number had been actively and treacherously hostile to the British Government. Now they were given a last chance; the oath of allegiance to King George, without equivocation, was proffered to

them; and their refusal left no course open but that they should be deported from the land to which they were a danger. For three months the work went on with perhaps unnecessary harshness, till six thousand of them had been removed and distributed among the thirteen older colonies; and Acadia was no longer a weakness in the British line of defence.

The fight on the Monongahela had put Braddock's papers into the hands of the French, who now had warning of the whole scheme of <sup>Johnson's expedition</sup> attack. Consequently, before Johnson led his motley force from Albany (five colonies were represented in it besides the Indian allies) an army was already on the march from Montreal to defend Crown Point. The French Government at Paris had known from the first of the English preparations at the end of 1754, and had lost no time in despatching six regiments to Canada under the command of Dieskau, sending out at the same time a new governor, Vaudreuil, since Duquesne was enfeebled by ill-health. These six regiments were sent against Johnson, and lay at Ticonderoga while he was collecting his troops at the southern end of Lake George. Dieskau remembered with envy the defeat of Braddock, and hoped to equal it by contriving a similar ambush on the road between Lake George and the Hudson. The ambush was well laid: but the Massa-

chusetts regiment that fell into it had previous experience of Indian warfare, and made a handsome retreat to its timber-walled camp on the lake, against which the fury of Dieskau's assault was shattered. The French were routed, and their general wounded and taken prisoner : but Johnson's loss was too heavy to let him take the offensive, and the enterprise had no further result than the building of Fort William Henry on the scene of the victory.

attacked by  
Dieskau,  
Sept. 8.

Fort  
William  
Henry  
built.

As for Shirley and his attack on Niagara, they collapsed altogether. His two regiments consisted of raw levies, unstrung by the news from Virginia. He got them as far as Oswego, found that the French were ready for him, and decided to put off active hostilities till the next spring.

Shirley's  
expedition  
a failure.

So ended the last year of the nominal peace. In two battles and a siege French and English troops had met each other as enemies. From the Roanoke to the Susquehanna the allies of France were ravaging British territory. Acadian refugees were straggling into Quebec or across the wilds to New Orleans with bitter complaints of English cruelty. It was time to recognize that the nations were at war ; and in June, 1756, the Seven Years' War began. Europe only needed the signal to blaze with the war-fire from end to end. Yet America

War  
declared  
between  
France and  
Britain,  
May 15, 1756.

was not entirely neglected ; Montcalm was sent from France to replace Dieskau, while the English ministry despatched Webb, Abercromby, and

The  
campaign  
of 1756.

Loudoun, one after the other, to countermand Shirley's plans and disagree about their own. Shirley was urgent to repeat the attacks on Crown Point and Niagara, and under his orders Bradstreet, a New Englander,

took supplies up to Oswego and defeated July 3. with heavy loss a raiding party of French.

It was the last victory for very many months. The main colonial army collected at Fort William Henry, preparing for an advance on Ticonderoga, where Vaudreuil had built a fort during the previous winter. Webb and Abercromby were bent on this enterprise, and neglected Oswego, which Shirley vainly implored them to reinforce. When at last Loudoun despatched Webb to do so,

Oswego  
taken by the  
French,  
Aug. 14.

it was too late ; Montcalm had massed troops on Lake Ontario, taken and destroyed Oswego, and secured the sole control of the Lakes and Ohio valley. Webb ran shamefully before an imaginary enemy (for Montcalm was already on his way back to Lake Champlain) and settled down to sulk at Fort Edward.

The news paralysed the army on Lake George, and the year ended with nothing done ; though the winter is made memorable in New England story by the exploits of Robert Rogers, who was

continually scouting round the French forts even for miles beyond Crown Point, harassing their convoys, capturing their outposts, and keeping his leaders well supplied with important information. In the spring Loudoun decided to abandon attacks by land and co-operate with a fleet from England in taking Louisbourg. The two forces, however, only met in Halifax in July; a rival French fleet had already entered the threatened harbour; and the storms that saved New England in 1746 did equally good work for Canada in 1757. But Loudoun's arrangements were not without result. He had withdrawn the best of his troops from the land attack; two thousand only were left at Fort William Henry, and fifteen hundred more under Webb at Fort Edward. Against them Montcalm moved the whole army of Canada, six thousand white troops besides bands of Indians from every tribe between Louisbourg and Lake Superior. A five days' siege drove the garrison of Fort William Henry to surrender, since Webb lay cowering in his camp and left them unsupported; but the Indians had got beyond control, and in spite of Montcalm's desperate endeavours to save them a large number of the prisoners were mercilessly butchered.

The  
campaign  
of 1757.

Failure of  
attack on  
Louisbourg.

Montcalm  
takes Fort  
William  
Henry,  
Aug. 9.

*G. William Pitt.*

Scarcely ever in Britain's history have her fortunes fallen so low. Not only in

The shame-  
ful years.

America was the enemy triumphant: Minorca was lost, the British commander in Germany had made a disgraceful capitulation, the Ministers had even brought over Hanoverian troops to defend England against invasion. But in July of the shameful year William Pitt took office, forced there in spite of King and Parliament by an indignant nation. It was too late to do anything in 1757: Pitt set to work to have everything ready for immediate action at the earliest moment in 1758. The European war he determined to leave alone, except for the help given to our ally, Frederick of Prussia, by unstinted subsidies. For Britain in future the war was to be colonial and naval. In America especially victory must be won all along the line. The four-fold attack was to be renewed, with good generals this time as well as good troops. Better than any general was Pitt himself, great with a self-confidence that he had right to feel, full of enthusiasm, masterful, a leader of men because he judged their powers as unerringly as he knew his own—whose room “nobody ever entered who did not come out of it a braver man.” For the Louisbourg expedition he chose Amherst, a man of the bulldog type, with the bold and almost reckless Wolfe for his adjutant. Abercromby was left to attack Ticonderoga—for political influence required some concessions—but his brigadier, the real leader, was Lord Howe,

Loss of  
Minorca,  
June 28,  
1756.

Convention  
of Kloster  
Seven,  
Sept. 8,  
1757.

Pitt called  
to power.

His new  
policy.

"the best soldier in the British army"\*: and the Mohawk-Ontario expedition was left in his hands. Forbes, a Scot in caution as in race, was sent against Fort Duquesne, with Washington to help him. Many thousands of troops were despatched from England, notably the newly-raised Highland regiments, who were to redeem in America the rebellion of 1745. And to leave the new generals and the new army a free hand in conquering Canada, the British navy was set to watch that no similar reinforcements should leave France.

The new policy was not long in justifying itself. The French Toulon fleet was blockaded within the Straits of Gibraltar. Another was destroyed at St. Malo, and a third burnt at Cherbourg. Louisbourg, left to its own resources, succumbed after a brave defence against an eight weeks' siege, in which Wolfe's gallantry played a conspicuous part. In August, Bradstreet, to whom the line of the Mohawk had been entrusted, dashed across Lake Ontario and took Fort Frontenac, thus breaking in half the Canada-Louisiana chain of communications. And late in the year the doggedness of Forbes was rewarded by the capture of Fort Duquesne. At one point only had Pitt's combinations failed: Lord Howe was killed

The years  
of victory.

St. Malo,  
June 6, 1758.

Cherbourg,  
Aug. 8.

Louisbourg,  
July 27.

Frontenac,  
Aug. 25.

Duquesne,  
Nov. 24.

\* Wolfe's description of him.



Failures at  
Ticonderoga,  
July 6 and 8

at the first attack of Ticonderoga, and the second was a blind rush upon strong fortifications that ended in retreat and panic. It was fatal to oppose Abercromby to Montcalm.

The next year saw no change in Pitt's plans, or in his victories. The American war was now threefold only: Amherst was sent to Lake George, Wolfe to Louisbourg for an attack on Quebec, Prideaux to Lake Ontario for the capture of Fort Niagara—each expedition being destined finally to move in unison with the others upon Montreal. Canada, on the other hand, was in sad plight. France could spare no help: "when the house is burning," said the French Ministry, "the stable must take its chance." In the colony itself Vaudreuil and Montcalm were not working well together: the governor was a Canadian born, and his office was in the Naval department,\* so that he had no great love for soldiers come from France. However, they were making great efforts to defend Lake Champlain and the Upper St. Lawrence, when the news of an English fleet on its way to Quebec surprised them. Every available man was at once sent to this vital point: and, when Wolfe's army of nine thousand sailed into the river-reach below Quebec, it was faced by sixteen thousand

\* Cf. the early troubles in New South Wales between the Governors and the New South Wales corps.

posted on and below the most impregnable fortress in the New World.

This diversion of course weakened the opposition to Amherst and Prideaux. Niagara fell without much trouble; the glory was Johnson's, for Prideaux was killed at the first fire. The whole of the French West was at once thrown open, the Ohio valley completely deserted, and such French troops as could be rallied took refuge in Detroit. Amherst meanwhile, no longer spurred into action by Wolfe, set to work on the Lake Champlain forts as if he had been besieging citadels in Flanders. Ticonderoga had been left in charge of a small detachment, Crown Point abandoned altogether, and the French defence concentrated in Isle-aux-Noix, at the extremity of the lake; but Amherst besieged and occupied the forts with great deliberation, and refused to stir a step forward before he had repaired and strengthened each of them.

Niagara,  
July 24.

Ticonderoga,  
July 27.

Crown  
Point,  
Aug. 1.

Advance  
from Crown  
Point,  
Oct. 11.

If his had been the only enterprise on foot, there might have been some excuse for this slow advance. But while he built forts and cut roads, Wolfe was wearing his heart out in front of Quebec. The city stands on a long tongue of land that falls in cliffs to the St. Lawrence on the right, and on the left less

Wolfe  
before  
Quebec.

steeply, but still in difficult slopes, to the meadows of the river St. Charles. Below the St. Charles, along a shore gradually rising northwards to the heights of Montmorenci, Montcalm's whole army guarded the only possible approach to the city—for the cliffs on the St. Lawrence above the town were impassable except by winding paths that a dozen men could hold with ease. Wolfe

He arrives

June 26:

encamped on the Isle of Orleans, opposite the Montmorenci heights, and soon afterwards established siege batteries on Point Lévis

occupies  
Point Lévis,

June 30:

opposite Quebec itself, from which he could bombard the town. But the ruin of the town made no difference to the citadel, or to the army below the St. Charles; and

and the  
Montmor-  
encé banks,  
July 9:

although he established a third camp on the heights below the Montmorenci River, and harassed Montcalm from that position, yet every direct attack on the French army failed. Autumn was coming on; Montcalm waited patiently, strongly placed with all his forces within reach; Wolfe had split his into three weak bodies severed from each other by a mighty river. But he was nothing if not

sends a  
squadron  
above  
Quebec,  
July 18:

daring; he made a fourth division, sent part of the fleet up the river above Quebec, and so drew away a part of Montcalm's force to Cap-Rouge, where the cliffs were more accessible and needed defence. Still he waited for Amherst, and Amherst did not come. His

position could not be held much longer, and he risked everything on a desperate adventure.

For some days he let his ships, crowded with troops, drift up and down with the tide past Cap-Rouge till the garrison there was tired out with following them along the banks. Then, on the 12th of September, a picked force of five thousand men was mustered partly on shipboard, partly on the bank above Point Lévis. Night came on, and the main English fleet battered Montcalm's camp and put out all its boats as if for a landing: the ships at Cap-Rouge drifted quietly with the tide. As the tide turned, Wolfe and his forlorn hope dropped down in boats close under the bank, where sentry after sentry let them pass in the belief that they were provision boats for the citadel. They landed at a spot Wolfe had marked days before, and clambered one by one up the precipitous ridge. Vergor was on guard there, the man who in 1755 had surrendered Fort Beausejour so faint-heartedly: most of his picket was away on leave, harvesting their own fields on condition they afterwards harvested his. The few that were left with him went to sleep, following their commander's example: and when they woke the English army had gained the heights. By six o'clock Wolfe found himself and his gallant four thousand in line on the Plains of Abraham, with a large body of French from Cap-Rouge in his rear,

Quebec in front, and beyond Quebec regiment after regiment of Montcalm's men hurrying up to crush him.

But his daring had already won the battle, for there was not a cool head left in the French camp.

If the English troops could scale those  
Battle on  
the plains of  
Abraham. cliffs, they might be expected anywhere:

Vaudreuil clung to what troops he could detain beyond the St. Charles: Ramesay, Captain of the Quebec garrison, could barely spare a couple of guns, and Montcalm rushed out of the town at the head of a disorderly mass to stay the English advance. He got them into some sort of order, threw out skirmishers to annoy the enemy's flanks, and led them to the charge. Wolfe's line stood firm till they were at close quarters, then delivered two crashing volleys and charged. The rout was instant and complete. Montcalm, fatally wounded, was carried into Quebec: the remains of his army poured down the heights back to their camp, infecting everyone they met with their own panic. At nightfall Vaudreuil gave the  
Vaudreuil  
retreats up  
the St.  
Lawrence. order to retreat, and abandoned cannon, camp, provisions, and the fortress itself to the victorious English.

Wolfe, happy in the success of his daring, died on the field. His successors intrenched themselves on the heights they had won, and pressed the siege with vigour. The commandant

Ramesay found himself helpless in the face of a threatened mutiny, and on the eighteenth surrendered the town. He could do nothing else; but it was one more piece of good fortune for the British, seeing that a day's delay would have brought upon them Lévis, Montcalm's successor, with a fresh army and cooler plans for rendering their position untenable. As it was, when spring came, they found themselves besieged in turn, and a battle outside the walls ended in defeat.

Quebec  
surrenders,  
Sept. 18.

Battle of  
Sainte  
Foye, April  
28, 1760.

Now the full effect of Pitt's policy came into view. Both sides were waiting for help from home, and the first vessel up the St. Lawrence would decide the fate of Quebec. But there were no more French vessels to come; all through the previous year the French ports had been blockaded: Boscawen had shattered the Toulon fleet off the coast of Portugal, and Hawke amid November storms destroyed the Brest fleet in the shoals of Quiberon Bay. In desperation the Ministry trusted to luck, and despatched a convoy early in the year, hoping that it might escape the English guard—and hoping in vain. Canada was left to abide its fate, and was not long left waiting. An English squadron raised the siege of Quebec; Lévis retired upon Montreal, and busied himself about its defence. Then, insistent and inexorable, the threefold

Lagos, Aug.  
18, 1759.

Quiberon  
Bay,  
Nov. 20.

Arrival of  
British fleet  
at Quebec,  
May 9-15,  
1760.

advance began again. Murray from Quebec, Amherst from Ontario, moved in along the St. Lawrence. Haviland forced the passage of Isle-aux-Noix and came up from the south. When the three armies joined hands, Montreal fell without a blow, and French rule in Canada was over.

For twenty-five years Britain had been engaged in a struggle which, by whatever name it was called—Spanish war, Jacobite rebellion, French war, or even “peace”—was in reality one and the

same. A Family Compact and a war with Spain had begun it : its closing years were marked by a renewal of the Compact and the re-entry of Spain to share the fate of France. All over the West Indies French islands were yielding to the victorious British fleet: the appearance of this

new combatant added Cuba to our conquest, and matched it with the capture of the Philippine Islands at the other side of the world. But the man who had conquered France for us was not allowed to conquer Spain also: a new king sat on the British throne, and the Imperial minister was thrust out to make room for the royal favourite.

The peace that came in 1763 was not Pitt's peace, but it was better than people expected from

Amherst  
arrives be-  
fore Mont-  
real, Sept. 6;

Murray,  
Sept. 7;

Haviland,  
Sept. 8.

Vaudreuil  
capitulates,  
Sept. 8.

Second  
Family  
Compact,  
Aug. 15,  
1761.

War de-  
clared  
against  
Spain,  
Dec. 31.

Havana  
taken,  
Aug. 14,  
1762.

Manilla  
taken,  
Oct. 6.

George III  
King,  
Oct. 25, 1760:

Pitt resigns,  
Oct. 5, 1761.

Bute; and it was so full of glory for a nation that still remembered Aix-la-Chapelle Peace of Paris, Feb. 9, 1763. fifteen years ago that men felt almost ashamed to grumble. Spain bought back Cuba by ceding Florida—a much more extended region than the present state of that name: France bartered island against island in the West Indies, and traded Minorca for Belle Isle in Europe, and the Senegal district for Goree in Africa. But beside this land trafficking stood the great trophies of victory: Canada became British, and all the land from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi, and Acadia, ancient boundaries and all: India became British as far as French cession could make it so: the fleets of Spain and France were gone, and the five great oceans, waterways of all the world, became from that time highroads for British colonization.



## CHAPTER IV.

### BRITISH CANADA.

#### A. *The New Rule in Canada.*

It seems probable that the Canadian officials had not expected Britain to retain Canada at the peace; and this may in part explain the rather hasty surrender of Vaudreuil, who for all his faults was a Canadian and a lover of his country. There were some in Britain itself who would have restored the colony in exchange for one more West Indian island,\* and French officials in Paris as well as at Montreal had seen that a British Canada would remove one of the strongest influences which held the American coast-colonies in allegiance to the mother-country. During the three years which separated the capture of Montreal from the Peace of Paris a new uprising was being fomented in

Canada not yet regarded as permanently British.

\* See page 50. In the British Parliament of 1774 members spoke of giving back Canada to France as a possible line of policy.

the West, where France still held forts on the Upper Mississippi, while Rogers (of Lake George fame) had occupied the Lake forts and garrisoned them with English troops. From the first, as we have before seen, the Indian tribes had found the French friendly and sympathizing allies; to the English colonists, never forgetful of their plundered homes in New England, Ottawa and Ojibway and Shawnee were just as much "vermin" as the Huron and the Abenaki. The whole West rose under Pontiac, a chief of the Ottawas; Detroit only and Fort Pitt (that had been Fort Duquesne) were held against the onrush of rebellion; Virginia and Pennsylvania were again raided all along their western borders; and it was a year before the approach of Bradstreet down the Lakes route and a daring march by Bouquet, one of Forbes' men, into the heart of the Indian country, brought the tribes to terms, and really ended the war in America.

The Conspiracy of Pontiac,  
1763-4.

Attack on Detroit,  
May 9, 1763.

Bouquet on the Muskingum,  
Oct. 1764.

Pontiac's war just escaped great importance, and it was no fault of the colonies that it did so. Two things saved the situation—the ready dispatch of British troops, and the personal exertions of Johnson among the Iroquois. One of the Iroquois clans actually did rebel: if the other five had joined them, and prolonged the area of revolt into the old fighting-

Relations with the Indians.

grounds between Ontario and the Kennebec, Canada must have been conquered over again from the beginning. The New York Assembly, mainly at the instigation of the Albany Dutch, had made a mistake that has been repeated since in the history of British expansion—notably, as we shall see, in the first colonizing of New Zealand; because the Iroquois had acknowledged British sovereignty, they assumed that Iroquois lands had become the property of New York colony, and had proceeded to make grants of them to all and sundry without thinking of compensation for the tribes who owned them. Johnson soothed his Indian friends with the assurance that the home Government would do them justice: and while Pontiac's war was still in progress, a royal proclamation established throughout British America the honourable policy which in Oct. 7, 1763, the Canadian Dominion has ever since been honourably observed. No private person could buy, and no single Indian could sell, the hunting-grounds of the tribes: the Governor alone, by a formal treaty with each tribe's representatives, was to obtain on fair terms such lands as a growing colony might require. Thirteen years later this act of good faith was to figure as part of the King's tyranny over his American colonies: but one need only cross to-day the border-line that parts Assiniboia from Montana, the Cree farmers from the Sioux marauders, to know on which side

lay the tyranny, on which the just rule over willing subjects.

Then for ten years Canada settled down into a somewhat uneasy sleep. The royal proclamation had nominally created four new colonies, besides enlarging the bounds of Nova Scotia and adding the Labrador coast and its fisheries to the fishing-colony of Newfoundland: and the Governors were empowered to summon <sup>Arrangements for administering the new colony.</sup> Assemblies and to introduce English law.

As a matter of fact, none of these provisions, except those relating to Newfoundland and Nova Scotia, were ever put into force; Murray, the defender of Quebec against Lévis, governed the whole of the ceded country till 1766, and his successor, Carleton, maintained his conciliatory policy towards the French <sup>The French-Canadians well treated.</sup> Catholic inhabitants. The immigrants from England and the coast colonies were more intolerant, and demanded recognition as the real owners of the country: the city of London so'lemnly reminded George III that his great grandfather had not been fetched over from Hanover to be lenient to Roman Catholics: but Carleton fought ably for the people he was set to govern, and secured at last that the Quebec Act of 1774 should grant religious toleration and the maintenance of French civil law, while <sup>The Quebec Act.</sup> introducing British criminal law, a legislative council, and a fairly free system of local government.

*B. Disaffection in the Colonies.*

The Quebec Act had other provisions which vitally affected the whole of British North America: and to understand its importance on this side we must go back to the Peace of Paris and study its effect on the colonies of the coastal strip. In 1763 they contained nearly a million and a-half of people, mostly hardy country folk, whom years of border fighting had trained to war, and Pitt's generals had led again and again to victory. And while the colonial troops had begun to understand war on a large scale, the colonial assemblies had gained some insight into extra-parochial politics. They had been part of the European political system: for them Frederick the Great had been subsidized to fight three nations at once. They had, they felt with perhaps more than justifiable pride, made sacrifices and done great things for the Empire: not the least important work of the late campaigns had been done by their own men, Johnson, Rogers, Bradstreet, Washington; and the New England colonies, at any rate, had spent their money freely on expeditions far beyond their own boundaries.

Their position was a splendid one. Three thousand miles of a rough and tedious sea voyage separated them from the mother-country; their own coastline was a thousand miles long, penetrated by numerous inlets, almost impossible to blockade. Behind

Their advantages in a struggle for independence.

them stretched a land practically boundless, tenanted by a scanty population of Indians, well watered, fertile, rich in minerals. Now that France had abandoned the continent (for Louisiana west of the Mississippi she had handed over to Spain) they had no local enemy to fear; it was in almost every case French inspiration that had fanned the Indian wars into a blaze, and the deliberate ferocity of French officials that had made them so unrestingly inhuman. There was little wealth in the northern colonies, but there was no poverty; farmers in New England, cattlemen and small manufacturers in the middle colonies, planters in the South, made up the bulk of the population. Every man could fight; some of the colonies ordained that every man should carry arms. If such a people wished for independence, what was to prevent them from claiming it?

In the first place, there was a very strong feeling of loyalty to the mother-land. Even the Massachusetts Assembly, always the most stubbornly hostile to control, acknowledged in an outburst of enthusiasm what Britain had done for them. The Dutchmen of New York, the Germans of Pennsylvania, indifferent at first as to their government so long as they could still make money, welcomed the power which could protect their trade. The Virginians, proud of their cavalier ancestry, main-

But they  
were loyal  
on the  
whole,

tained that romantic attachment to the country of their fathers which often defies the dictates of self-interest. In all the colonies the best men could not but own that where Britain interfered with their internal government it was nearly always on the right side—to veto sectarian laws, to modify over-harsh treatment of the Indians, to relax the oppressive rule of proprietary bodies.

Again, the colonies were very far from a real union. While their troops fought side by side under Forbes or Amherst, their politicians fought each other over every trivial possibility of dispute. Questions of boundary, questions of trade, questions of responsibility for failures, irritated and divided them even in the crisis of the struggle for independence. The New England traders were equally ready to supply the British armies and the French islands with food and other necessities of war. We have seen the Albany Dutch preferring their trade with Montreal to the defence of New York, and the Virginians refusing to pay for regiments that might possibly do some good for Pennsylvania. "They all love England," said Franklin in 1760, "much more than they love one another."

But the love and the loyalty, it is to be feared, were rather after the pattern of that sentimental affection which a young runaway is apt to feel for the home which he has deserted and the

parents who no longer control him. More-  
 over, the eighteenth century had seen a  
 development of the British constitution  
 which American politicians failed to  
 understand. Their experience was of rights  
 defined by a charter, irrevocable except for serious  
 misconduct—an organized colony, like a judge,  
 should hold its office “during good behaviour,”  
 free from outside interference. The King was the  
 granter of charters: the King, advised by his privy  
 council, might alter or annul them—if he did so  
 unjustly, they had a personal grievance against  
 him. But by 1760 the acts of the King and his  
 privy council were, to a large extent, controlled by  
 the expressed wishes of the British Parliament:  
 and that body, under Whig guidance, was rapidly  
 assuming for itself the irresponsible supremacy, the  
 power of altering laws without reason given, which  
 from the days of ancient Greece has been rightly  
 called tyranny. This was a new and a startling  
 phenomenon to the American colonist. He was,  
 willingly or unwillingly, a subject of the British  
 king and a member of the British nation: that did  
 not necessarily involve his subjection to the whims  
 of a body of men elected entirely within the bounds  
 of Great Britain.\* A democratic people generally  
 mistrusts, sometimes a little despises its own par-  
 liament, and is not at all inclined to have greater

\* This is what Otis meant when in 1761 he called it a  
 “foreign legislature.”



respect for that of any other country. The parliament of a democracy is a somewhat complicated device for bringing to the front men who can lead the democracy, and lending momentum to the impetus of brains by adding the weight of a majority. The colonies, as a whole, stood by Pitt in 1758 as the States stood by Hamilton in 1788\*: but what was Parliament that it should meddle in their affairs?

Parliament had equally determined beliefs in its own right and power to do so. For a hundred years it had been passing Navigation Acts, and it had just found out that they were being disobeyed with impunity. If Spain, decrepit and effete, could enforce restrictions of trade on her colonies, why should England drive her team with looser reins? The answer is, of course, that Spain was ruling Spaniards, and England Englishmen; but such questions at the time were rhetorical, and did not wait for an answer. Grenville, coming into office after the Peace, set himself to remodel the relations between Britain and her colonies. The Navigation Acts must be obeyed; the slipshod ease of Walpole's method was to be abandoned; if Boston trade could not exist without smuggling, Boston trade must die. Strictness was after all only fair as

Parliament  
discovers  
Walpole's  
laxity,

and decides  
to enforce  
its laws  
strictly.

Grenville  
in power,  
Apr. 8, 1763.

\* In the disputes about Federation.

between the colonies themselves, for obedient Virginia had long complained of the laxity in New England. The law was enforced, and Boston cherished its grievance.

One lesson was to be read very clearly in the history of the late war. America could not be trusted to defend herself against attack; Montcalm and Pontiac alike had required British regiments to defeat them. And if a war came again, it would simplify matters to have the regiments on the spot to meet it. Grenville decided, therefore, to station about ten thousand troops as garrisons in various parts of British America, and to levy a tax on the colonies which would pay about one-third of the expense. The agents of the colonies protested at first, and suggested that they might be told what they were to pay, and allowed to raise the money in their own way. This, in view of past experiences, was evidently impracticable; Grenville's Stamp Act was passed by a majority of four to one; and the agents, accepting the situation, nominated officials who should carry it out in each colony. At the same time, to make it evident that the new policy was not selfish, Grenville relaxed the Navigation Acts, whose strictness was avowedly a matter of gain to British trade.

First  
Quartering  
Act, 1765.  
The Stamp  
Act, Mar. 22,  
1765.

Some months later Parliament was startled by bad news from America, which it had quite for-

gotten. The colonial assemblies protested against the Act; the nominated officials declined to take up their duties; Boston rioted. A Congress at New York, Oct. 7-25, gress of politicians from nine colonies made a united "Declaration of Rights and Grievances." "We cannot be taxed," they said, "by a body in which we are not represented." Grenville's ministry had fallen, and his successors were not proud of the Stamp Act; Pitt denounced it, and its repeal was made easy. But the dignity of Parliament had been hurt, and it consoled itself by passing another Act to assert its own power of taxing America. Just so, when a small boy is dared by another to hit him, "I don't want to hit you," he says, "and I'm not going to hit you; but I could if I liked, so there now!"

Pitt came into office again, but not into power. If he had been the Pitt of nine years before, who can say what might have happened? for he was planning the annexation of Bengal and an Imperial Customs Union. As it was, his name gave vitality to a ministry that did everything he disapproved of. The colonies had laid themselves open to what followed. In resisting the Stamp Act they had feared the precedent of their previous nominal submission to the Navigation Acts: and they drew a logical distinction between internal taxation—money to be paid in connection with transactions between people of the

Congress at  
New York,  
Oct. 7-25.

Stamp Act  
repealed,  
Feb., 1766.

The  
Declaratory  
Act.

Pitt joins  
the govern-  
ment,  
July, 1766.

same colony, such as marriages, lawsuits, &c.—and external taxation, which arose out of transactions between a colonist and outsiders. The first, they said, must be dealt with by the colony's own assembly only: the second might be levied by the English Crown, seeing that it represented them in all other relations with the outside world. It is dangerous for relations to chop logic with one another: but Townshend, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, thought it smart to take the Americans at their word. He passed an Act imposing Customs duties on half a dozen articles, and calculated to get by it £40,000 wherewith to pay colonial Governors and Judges. He got £16,000, of which nearly the whole went in the expenses of collection, while the measures of coercion, which America's immediate resistance forced him to undertake, cost about £170,000 more. Greed, at any rate, was not one of the influences which made Parliament obstinate in its purpose to tax.

Townshend's Acts, introduced into Parliament, May 13, 1767, passed in June.

Colonial Office established, Dec., 1767.

Boston, as usual, distinguished itself among the chorus of protests, and the irritated Ministry garrisoned it with English troops, threatening at the same time to bring home agitators to be tried in England. Then the mistake of five years before was repeated: the greater part of the Revenue Act was repealed, but

Boston riots, June, 1768. Convention in Faneuil Hall, Sept. 22. Garrison placed in the town, Sept. 28.

the duty on tea was maintained for the sake of principle. Boston renewed its riots, and in one of them a body of British soldiers, acting under great provocation, fired and killed four men. Before the excitement arising from this misfortune had died down, a British revenue-schooner was taken and burnt by armed smugglers. This was followed up by the publication of some letters written by the Governor of Massachusetts to a friend in England,\* in which he had used, as men will privately, somewhat harsh expressions about the people he governed. The colony was still wrathful when a fleet of tea ships arrived in the principal American harbours, despatched by the East India Company in the hope of getting a little money to pay its way. At Charleston the tea was landed, and stored in cellars so damp that it became useless: at New York a landing was refused, but no further steps taken: Boston raided the ships by night and flung their cargo into the harbour.

To the English nation the act of Boston stood for the attitude of all the colonies; the humorous evasion of Carolina and the passive resistance of New York were forgotten in indignation with this perpetually riotous town, and Parliament retaliated

\* Franklin got hold of them, knowing them to have been stolen, and sent them over to America for publication.

by a series of equally violent Acts. The port of Boston was closed to commerce, <sup>The Five Acts, 1774.</sup> the charter of Massachusetts annulled, and the garrison quartered directly upon the townsfolk. At the same time it was provided that any British officer accused of illegality in carrying out his instructions should be tried in England, not in the rebellious colony—a law easy of justification, but rendered odious because people confused it with the threat of a few years before. With these four Riot Acts, as they might be called, was joined the Act already mentioned,\* which gave the Canadians their own religion—but which alarmed and enraged every colony from Connecticut to Virginia by making the Ohio the south-western boundary of Canada, and so cutting off from the coastal settlements all hope of expansion and a good deal of land already taken up by their own people. In that particular, indeed, the Quebec Act lost its fairness and became oppressive; for the Ohio valley had never been occupied by French settlers, and was already peopled by Virginian and Pennsylvanian farmers; and to put them under French law, which the Act did, was no less unjust than to put Montreal under English law, which the Act was designed to prevent.

C. *The American Revolution.*

The colonies were still far from union; but the Five Acts drove them nearer than they had ever

\* P. 121.

The colonies draw towards union.

been before. If Parliament could revoke the King's charter granted to Massachusetts, no colony had any guarantee for security. Six colonies\* claimed strips of the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi; the Quebec Act destroyed the claims of three, and the other three might be similarly treated at any moment. A congress, irregularly but enthusiastically chosen, met in Philadelphia to voice the grievances of twelve colonies; it reiterated the well-known arguments, and replied to the closing of Boston harbour by a boycott of English goods. Even then, if Boston had not loomed so large in English eyes, conciliation might have been possible, and Pitt (now Earl of Chatham) advised Parliament to close with their offer of external taxation rights—"regulation of commerce" he and they called it—doing so fairly and generously, not in Townshend's spirit of cheap smartness. But the tea riots were too recent and too impudent, and neither Parliament nor the nation was in a conciliatory mood.

And now became plain the strategy of Samuel Adams, most influential and most prejudiced of Boston citizens. Three years before he had organized throughout the colonies a

The Committees of Correspondence

\* Massachusetts, Connecticut, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia.

system of "committees of correspondence," which became, like the Jacobin clubs throughout France in 1793, centres of disaffection always ready for a concerted rising. Early in 1775 Massachusetts called out its militia and prepared for active resistance to the British army of occupation. There was a skirmish at Lexington, and a running fight between troops and militiamen from Concord back towards Boston. Instantly the news spread from colony to colony, the secret committees called their adherents to arms, the royal governors were driven out, the offices of State seized by friends of the Revolution, and the slow-moving masses of the people found themselves headed by active partisans of Massachusetts, who called on them to rise and drive the English murderers into the sea. The loyalists, puzzled and helpless, found it wisest to keep quiet; that large half-indifferent aggregation of dull minds which we call public opinion was being urged by the incessant efforts of the Adams party in the direction of independence. A second congress met at Philadelphia and advised expostulation, but Massachusetts was already far beyond that. The militiamen were besieging Boston, where a new army under Burgoyne and Clinton reinforced the garrison on May 25. The next day Congress called out the New York militia: three weeks

pendence  
founded  
Nov. 1772

Affair at  
Lexington,  
Apr. 19, 1775.

The second  
Continental  
Congress  
meets,  
May 10.



later it resolved to form a continental army, and called Washington to be its commander. News of the stubborn fight of Bunker's Hill (falsely so-called, for it took place on a neighbouring hill, Breed's) stimulated the revolutionary bodies to more confident resistance; and Congress set about completing its organization for defence by bringing Canada into line with its sister-colonies to the southward.

The Congress of 1774 had already issued an address to the Canadians, which, with many quotations from celebrated French authors, called on them as brothers to claim all the rights of Englishmen. Its sincerity is rather discounted by the fact that the same Congress had just denounced the Canadians and their religion as foes to all true liberty. Early in 1775 it was ascertained that Canada was defenceless and that its French inhabitants would remain inactive in case of revolt—they had bitter memories of war, and were threatened with a devastating war if they joined the English. Soon after Lexington American volunteers surprised Ticonderoga and Crown Point—the first aggressive act of the revolting colonies. Early in the autumn an organized attack on the St. Lawrence settlements was made by two routes, Montgomery moving along the Richelieu on Montreal, Arnold marching by a blazed track from the

Fight at  
Breed's  
Hill,  
June 16.

Oct. 26, 1774.

Lake  
Champlain  
forts taken  
by Ethan  
Allen,  
May 10.

Kennebec directly against Quebec.\* Montreal was abandoned, and for a few months Quebec, gallantly defended by Carleton, was the only spot of British territory left in North America. But the spring brought a fleet from home that forced Arnold (leader since Montgomery's death in an attack on Quebec) to retire to the Richelieu line: and the arrival of Burgoyne with a large army drove him back into New York territory and reestablished British authority in the northern province.

The Americans could console themselves with the counterstroke by which Washington had compelled the evacuation of Boston and so left Massachusetts free of war for the future. This, however, transferred the British army to New York, where it drove the American troops from their position on Long Island, entered New York City, and at last manœuvred Washington out of the State altogether and secured the southern end of the Hudson-Richelieu line.

Montreal  
abandoned,  
Nov. 11.

Attack on  
Quebec,  
Dec. 31.

Quebec  
relieved,  
May 6, 1776

Boston  
evacuated,  
Mar. 17.

New York  
becomes the  
British  
head-  
quarters.

Battle of  
Long  
Island,  
Aug. 27.

Washington  
retreats to  
Pennsyl-  
vania, end  
of Nov.

Meanwhile Congress had taken the final step. The bitterness of the colonies against Parliament had become personal enmity to the King who

\* The difficulties of Arnold's march have been very greatly exaggerated.

controlled and the nation which supported it. They had appealed to Cæsar, and found that

Both sides  
seek out-  
side aid.

Cæsar was at the back of all the acts they complained of. Moreover, during the last months of 1775 they had sought vainly for allies; they had tried to raise Indian war parties for the attack on Canada, and they had implored French help against Britain as urgently as twenty years before they had implored British help against France. But Johnson remained a loyalist and brought his Iroquois to Carleton's aid; and while French help was slow in coming, the British government was able to strengthen its American armies with Hanoverian and Hessian troops. Disappointment at their own failure, vexation at the enemy's success, gave edge to the colonists' wrath; and on July 4, 1776,

The De-  
claration of  
Indepen-  
dence.

Congress adopted a Declaration of Independence which began with doubtful philosophy, strengthened it with a mob of practical arguments, good, bad, and indifferent, and wound up in a bold and lofty strain, that deserved much better preface, by renouncing British allegiance and calling into existence the free and independent States of America; "for the support of which declaration," said the signers, "we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honour."

At the moment there was not a British soldier within the thirteen States. But the operations

round New York, already spoken of, were the beginning of a determined attempt to crush American resistance. North and South were to be separated by a military occupation of New York and Pennsylvania :

Strategy of  
the ensuing  
war.

then, it was hoped, the natural elements of discord between New Englanders and Virginians would soon dissolve this newly-announced union. On Washington's side, therefore, the war

Washington  
on the  
defensive.

must be one of dogged holding on to the Middle States, securing his communication with New England across the Upper Hudson and with Virginia across the heads-of Chesapeake

Bay. In 1777 both these lines were attacked : Howe, the British commander-in-chief, sailed up Chesapeake Bay, defeated

Howe's  
attack :

Washington at Brandywine, occupied Philadelphia (to which a fictitious importance was given by its being the meeting-place of Congress), and drove the American\* army to wretched winter quarters in a loyalist district at Valley Forge. Clinton

Brandy-  
wine,  
Sept. 11,  
1777 ;

German-  
town, Oct. 4.

had been left at New York with orders to force the line of the Hudson which was held by Gates, and meet another British army which was advancing from Canada. But both these movements were made too late in the year : if Howe and Clinton had started when Burgoyne did, Washington's army might have been annihilated and Gates

\* This adjective will be used, conveniently though inaccurately, for all that belongs to the United States.

crushed between his two assailants. For Burgoyne marched from Crown Point on July 1: within the month he had crossed into the Hudson valley, secured Fort Edward on the Hudson, and invested Fort Schuyler on the Mohawk, to keep that road also open for expected reinforcements. Then his difficulties began. The troops that were to have met him did not appear: on his left flank swarmed the vindictive militia of New England: his Indian allies grew restless, his Canadian troops slipped home to get in their harvests, the loyalists of New York were half-hearted and ready to run at the first reverse. A detachment of his force was defeated at Bennington, and the scare of it broke up the loyalist investment of Fort Schuyler: an attack on Stillwater, twice repulsed after desperate fighting, cost him his Indians and the rest of his loyalists. Fort Edward was seized before he could retreat; and on October 16 he surrendered the starving remnant of his army, the only part of it whose gallantry had deserved success, to Gates at Saratoga. Clinton very willingly stayed his advance and fell back to New York: the succours from Ontario were defeated at Oriskany: and New England remained in unbroken connection with the central army and government of the States.

Burgoyne's  
attack :  
he reaches  
the Hudson,  
July 30:

Benning-  
ton, Aug. 16:

Battles of  
Stillwater,  
Sept. 19,  
Oct. 7.

Surrender  
at Saratoga,  
Oct. 16.

The news of Saratoga gave the Revolution its

first real hope of final success. Left to themselves, these divided States must have come back under the dominion of Britain ; the revolutionary leaders might have retired across the mountains—there would probably have been an emigration to the Western prairies, and a New Englander republic in the Mississippi valley as implacable as the Transvaal Boers and far more dangerous—but the thirteen States would have again become colonies. They deserved no more, when each fought and worked only for its own hand. The ports of New England, the plantations of Virginia, brought wealth to the country around them, while the army on which their freedom depended was starving in Pennsylvania. At the moment of Union a Southern congressman talked freely of the “low cunning” of Massachusetts. Franklin had once offered Grenville, as a substitute for the Stamp Act, that each colony should vote whatever sums were required for general defence; the value of the offer was now seen, when Congress found itself unable to get a penny from the States, and was driven to manufacturing paper money and drawing bills on its European agents who had nothing in hand to meet them, in order to provide Washington’s troops with the simplest necessities of existence.

The importance of Burgoyne’s surrender.

Divisions among the States.

But the surrender of Burgoyne brought about an alliance of the States with France, and from that

moment independence became really possible.

The King himself was frightened into offering everything short of that, but it was too late. Congress, as proud as it was

France  
joins in the  
war,  
Feb. 6, 1778.

Royal Com-  
missioners  
attempt to  
negotiate  
with  
Congress,  
June 4-17.

French fleet  
on Ameri-  
can coast,  
July.

impotent, refused to treat except on the basis of independence. The fear of a coming French fleet drove Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, from Philadelphia back to New York: though the fleet itself on arrival did no more than threaten an

English garrison in Rhode Island and take its departure for the West Indies. But the mischief was done: Britain was no longer supreme on the seas, and it was the French turn to defeat her by detaining her best troops in Europe and cutting off at the critical moment her connection with the forces in America.

The last war's strategy was still in the minds of combatants on both sides, and fragments of it reappeared. There was an Iroquois raid on Northern Pennsylvania, and a war of bitter retaliation on the Iroquois country below Lake Ontario. Repeated efforts were made by the

Progress of  
the war.

British at New York to recapture the line of the Hudson, and Arnold has made his name infamous by his attempt to betray into

British hands the fort at West Point, the key of Washington's communications.

Meanwhile, Clinton had conceived the idea of rolling up the American line of defence by

Sept., 1780.

advance from north and south at once, as Amherst had once rolled up the French line from Ontario and Quebec. Savannah in Georgia was taken, then Charleston in South Carolina, and Lord Cornwallis was left to complete the work at that end, while Clinton returned to watch Washington. Cornwallis defeated Gates (of Saratoga fame) and gained a sort of victory over his successor, Greene: but he had been drawn into Virginia before his work was done in the South, and presently he found himself shut in at Yorktown on Chesapeake Bay, with both Carolinas again lost to Britain, and his small army surrounded by a French-American force under Washington and Rochambeau. Clinton lay idling at New York, wondering when he was going to be attacked. Again, as at Quebec in 1760, command of the sea decided the event: but this time it was a French fleet under de Grasse that held the Bay, and Cornwallis was forced, after strenuous resistance, to an honourable surrender.

Cornwallis' attack:

Camden, Aug. 16, 1780;

Guilford Court House, Mar. 15, 1781;

Eutaw Springs, Sept. 8.

Surrender at Yorktown, Oct. 19, 1781.

If one might judge by the power Britain was putting forth against France, this loss of seven thousand men was but an incident in the war. The Americans indeed so looked upon it, and Washington still despaired of ultimate success. But as Saratoga convinced France, so Yorktown convinced Britain.

The importance of the Yorktown surrender.



The American war had not been very popular with the nation; indeed, after the first <sup>British view of the war.</sup> zeal to punish New England's insolence and Virginia's ingratitude, public opinion had come to look upon it rather as a civil war between two bodies of colonists, the loyalists and the revolutionaries, in which Britain was helping the loyalists partly with British regiments, partly by subsidizing troops of other nations, as she had done in previous wars with France. And with proper management that is exactly what the war might have been. The Middle and Southern States had been full of loyalists waiting <sup>Loyalists neglected.</sup> to be encouraged and organized, and New York privateers made havoc among the American merchant-fleet. A Wolfe or a Forbes could have done it; but Pitt was out of power, and we had only Clintons. So when this last enterprise of Cornwallis, carried out in the very hotbed of Toryism,\* ended in such ignominious failure, the British nation woke to a full <sup>Britain discovers the truth.</sup> knowledge of what its troops were doing, and the king found himself forced to give up all schemes of revenge. Yet, while no one any longer disputed the necessity of giving the United States their freedom, it would be ungenerous to abandon altogether the men who had preferred an Imperial to a local patriotism; and the war dragged on listlessly for another

\* The Americans called the loyalists "Tories."

year in the hope of getting better terms for the loyalists.

No such remorse visited the nation when it thought of the war with France. That state had flung itself unprovoked into the fight, bringing Spain in its train; the allied fleets had promenaded the English Channel, and an alliance of the other European powers threatened to impose unbearable conditions on the actions of the British navy. When Holland in the winter of 1780 joined France and Spain, Britain flew to meet the three antagonists with a kind of warlike joy. At last there was fighting to be done of which Britain could be proud; and Elliott's defence of Gibraltar, together with Rodney's brilliant victories at sea, were fit subjects for national pride. Nevertheless it was time for the war to end. America was free, and almost bankrupt; France had gained from her efforts little but financial difficulties and the spread of revolutionary ideas among her people; Spain had spent countless treasure to regain one fortress, and was still outside it; Holland was ruined, her colonies almost all torn away, her commerce destroyed. Britain herself was impoverished, in difficulties with Ireland, unhurt nowhere but in India. So peace came, welcome to all on any conditions.

The European war.

Spain enters, June 16, 1779;

Holland joins, Dec. 20, 1780;

Siege of Gibraltar, July 8, 1779, to close of war.

Rodney beats the Spanish fleet off Cape St. Vincent, Jan. 16, 1780; beats de Grasse in the West Indies, Apr. 12, 1782.

Results of the war.

The Treaty of Versailles, Sept. 30, 1783. To her enemies Britain gave only the island of Minorca and the now useless district of Florida; to her children she yielded freedom, and with it the lands of an empire that stretched already from the Atlantic to the Lakes and the Mississippi, and was soon to expand till another ocean determined its bounds.

It is well for the student of history to keep always in mind the true character of this American war. The freedom of the United States was due neither to Franklin nor to Jefferson nor even to Washington : it was begun, furthered, and finally achieved by the incompetence of English generals and the eager desire of France for her revenge. Sea-power wrested America from Britain as it wrested Canada and India from France. But the power that kept alive the fire of revolt through five weary years till help came over the sea was American entirely : it was the untiring energy of the revolutionary leaders — of Patrick Henry, ex-storekeeper, ex-farmer, bankrupt, lawyer, and the greatest of American orators — of Jefferson, the man who believed in the people as much as he did in himself — of the two Adams, John and Samuel, whose diplomacy had organized the Revolution. And above all it was the patience and courage and tactical skill of Washington. He was the leader of a perpetually varying and always undisciplined army against trained

A note on the war.

The American leaders.

George Washington.

regiments in superior force, the servant of a Congress jealous of every success and mercilessly critical of every disaster: but by his endurance he so created a common patriotism among men of all shades of opinion as to secure in the end united action and complete triumph. His experience of war was not large: his learning was not remarkable: he had neither fluency of speech nor originality of thought. But his judgment was excellent, his firmness unshakable, his honour unblemished: by unswerving self-command he reached the summit of fame, and with calm self-denial took nothing for himself when the nation he had made acclaimed his supremacy. The empire that he built was not for Britain: but the British race may count him among the best of its empire-builders.

*D. The New Constitution.*

It may be easily imagined that the creation of a new and bitterly anti-British State on the Canadian borders influenced considerably the fate of the territories which Britain still retained. The boundary line had been drawn through four of the Great Lakes, leaving Michigan entirely to the United States—a just decision, since the destruction of the Ontario-Iroquois settlement and the capture by Kentucky rangers of the Western forts at Kaskaskia and Vincennes had, before the war ended, brought all the land south of the Lakes under the control of

Effects of  
the war on  
Canada.

Boundary-  
lines.

Congress. In the east Acadia still was a difficulty, for its boundaries had not yet been defined. But everywhere, defined or indefinite, the line was an imaginary one—the centre of great lakes on which both countries had ports, or a parallel of latitude that corresponded to no natural features at all.

And just beyond this line, within the next  
The U.E.  
loyalist im-  
migration. few years, homes were found for the men

whom of all others the Americans hated most bitterly. All the efforts of British statesmen had failed to secure an amnesty for the loyalists. At the peace they came streaming across the Canadian borders, leaving behind them all that had made their life happy, forced to starve and struggle for years before the new country could become their home. Along the bays of Nova Scotia, in the valleys where they made New Brunswick, on the Eastern Farms round Sherbrooke, and throughout a fertile forest-land from the Ottawa to Lake Huron, the United Empire Loyalists built up a British Canada, and gloried in the title they so well deserved. The Mohawk Iroquois, too, who  
Mohawk  
settlement  
at Brant-  
ford. had fought well and loyally after their fashion, settled down to quiet farming and intelligent citizenship in a district that still bears the name of their chief.

This introduction into a French province of a people accustomed to British law completely altered the situation in Canada and made the Quebec Act unfair and obsolete. William Pitt the younger, no

less a friend to colonies than his father had been, now governed England: and in 1786 he sent out Carleton (now Lord Dorchester) as governor-general of all the provinces, with instructions to prepare a full report on all branches of Canadian affairs—commerce, agriculture, law, defence, and political conditions. The result of this was the Constitutional Act of 1791, which divided Canada proper into two provinces, with the Ottawa River as their common boundary. To each of these was given a Governor, a nominee Council, and an elected Assembly: Lower Canada, north and east of Montreal, retained the French civil law, Upper Canada (the new U.E. loyalist settlement) was given English civil law: in both provinces criminal law was to be administered after the English fashion. The home government reserved to itself the levying of Customs duties, which were still looked upon as regulating trade rather than producing revenue: but the money so raised was given to the two Legislatures to spend as they wished. Somewhat similar constitutions had been granted already to Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward's Island: and the five young colonies, the first-fruits of our newly-learned wisdom, began tranquilly their prosperous career.

*The Canada Act.*

*Constitution given to Nova Scotia, 1758:*

*New Brunswick, 1786:*

*P. Edward Id., 1773.*

At first sight it seems a daring thing for Pitt to have given Canada a constitution at that particular moment. The French province contained about

The French Revolution affects Canada but little. 130,000 people, the U.E. province barely 20,000 : and in France, the mother-land of that enormous majority, a revolution greater than the American was already in full blast. As it happened, however, the French-Canadians were the last people in the world to take up a revolution on abstract principles. When in later years they feared the abolition of their land laws or their language, they could be fiery and troublesome : but they had already more liberty under British rule than they had ever connected with the name of France, all Canadian views on 'Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity.' the influences of their life told against equality, and the first years of the United States had given them an object lesson in fraternity which hardly encouraged them to desire it. The clergy, too, always a strong power in Lower Canada, set their faces against all forms of revolution, and Canada spent in peace those twenty years which convulsed and shattered and re-created Europe.

Of those years and the course of British policy through them one cannot write here in detail. But it is important to note that the matter at stake on our side was really the continued existence of the Empire. Every stroke Napoleon dealt at Britain, and many of those with which he crushed the Continental Powers, were aimed at the destruction of our colonial and commercial system. And our long list of victories

began when our Ministers saw his aim, and devoted the strength of the country to defeating it. He threatened our Indian Empire with his expedition to Egypt: we destroyed his fleet there and in the end captured his army. He called to his aid the navies of Holland and Spain, and planned to add that of Denmark: we took the Danish fleet into safe keeping, ruined the Dutch, and annihilated at Trafalgar the naval organization of Spain and France. He turned to conquer the whole continent of Europe, and weld it into one mighty weapon for the destruction of British trade; we cut off Europe from the trade of the world. Meanwhile the over-sea colonies of all our enemies had fallen into the hands of the Power whom Jervis and Nelson had made supreme at sea. At last the unwieldy fabric of Napoleon's empire began to fall apart, dissolved by British subsidies and strained by the coercion of our blockade: the Wellesleys fastened our army immovably upon the Peninsula and drained the life-blood of France at that end of Europe, while the nations it had subdued rose in triumphant hate to beat its ruler back from the other upon an exhausted kingdom. Napoleon, conqueror of Europe on second

Battle of the Nile, Aug. 1, 1798; Battle of Aboukir Bay, Mar. 21, 1799; Conventions of Cairo and Alexandria, June and August.

Copenhagen, Apr. 2, 1801, and Sept. 2, 1807; Camperdown, Oct. 11, 1797; Trafalgar, Oct. 21, 1805.

Berlin Decree, Nov. 21, 1806; Orders in Council, Jan. 7 and Nov. 11, 1807; Milan Decree, Dec. 17, 1807.

The Peninsular War, Aug. 1, 1808, to Apr. 13, 1814. Invasion of Russia, June to Dec., 1812; War of Liberation, 1813-14.



thoughts, is really the heir of the anti-British Bourbon policy, the leader of France in a war of vengeance for Blenheim and Quebec: but the greatest general of his age was especially liable to perpetuate the Bourbon mistake, and to waste his strength in manœuvring armies against an empire whose impregnable defence is the Ocean.

Nor must we forget that "the Empire" means every separate part of the Empire. In matters of

this kind the colonies, especially the Australian colonies, are apt to think of these Napoleonic wars as matters beyond their immediate concern. Because Sydney was

not besieged, because no hostile fleets joined battle in Storm Bay, we plume ourselves on our peaceful origin and talk pityingly of the blood-stained lands beyond the oceans. But Australia was conquered on the shores of Europe; Jervis and Nelson did for us what Hawke and Wolfe did for Canada: we owe it to Trafalgar that Australia to-day is free and peaceful from end to end. What it might have been we see on the new maps of Africa—a parti-coloured congeries of European settlements, each suspicious of its aggressive neighbour. But the event of the Napoleonic wars placed in Britain's hands the

unfettered control of all Australia; so that when in later years the French asked how much of the continent we claimed, our Minister could say "The whole," and with that answer dismiss them.

Our wars  
against Na-  
poleon were  
Imperial  
wars.

Lord John  
Russell's  
answer to  
France,  
1839.

Quiet as Canada was during the greater part of the European turmoil, it was not to escape without a taste of war. The United States had begun their career, not unnaturally perhaps, with very bitter feelings against the mother country. While Washington lived he did all in his power to allay the bitterness; but his death put an extreme party in control of the government, and Napoleon's gift of Louisiana in 1803 renewed the old friendship with France. Consequently when the Emperor's Berlin and Milan Decrees threatened with capture every neutral vessel that carried British goods or had touched at a British port, and the English Orders in Council retaliated similarly on neutrals trading with France, it was about the Orders rather than the Decrees that the United States felt indignant. There were other grievances, too—one was that British frigates lay off New York harbour and searched every American vessel for British deserters. America had just grounds for complaint; but Britain was engaged in a life-and-death struggle with Napoleon, and neither combatant was likely to consider the feelings of outsiders who came in their way. The Congress of 1811 was largely made up of clever young men (Clay and Calhoun were two of its new members) who had never known war, and believed ardently in the "manifest destiny" of their country. Clay was for war at once—war with Britain, because that meant the conquest of Canada,

Ill-feeling  
between  
Britain and  
the U.S.

Congress  
declares  
war, June  
19, 1812.

Orders in Council re-pealed, June 23. and the dictation of terms of peace "at Quebec or Halifax." So war was determined on, though the Orders in Council were withdrawn, and three American armies were to be thrown upon the quiet Canadian farmlands.

It was not only the Iroquois whom Britain had treated well; along and beyond the western lakes tribe after tribe mustered to the defence of their Canadian friends, led by the Shawnee chief Tecumseh. So the western army of invasion found itself driven back to its base at Detroit, where it surrendered; the key forts of Lake Michigan and Lake Superior were taken, and the whole Michigan peninsula was for a time subject to Canadian authority. The second army, advancing by Niagara, was twice repulsed by inferior British forces; and the third, to which had been given the Richelieu line of attack, never got beyond the frontier. Congress had hoped for a responsive rising among the Canadians themselves, but the U.E. men had memories. In 1813 little more was done, though the American fresh-water fleet gained the control of Lake Erie; Canada, standing on the defensive, successfully blocked the renewed Niagara and St. Lawrence attacks. But by this time the British navy was coming into action. Isolated ships had, at the beginning of the war, unsuccessfully challenged heavier American ships to single combat, and their capture had ex-

Unsuccessful  
invasions  
of 1812.

Detroit  
taken by  
Canadians,  
Aug. 16.

Queenston,  
Oct. 13;  
Fort Erie,  
Nov. 28.

cited enthusiasm throughout the States; in 1813 the "Chesapeake and Shannon" fight damped this ardour, and before the year's end every American man-of-war was either taken or shut up in harbour. The next year began with a European peace, and two British armies, thus set free, were at once despatched across the Atlantic. The troops already there had given a good account of themselves; Oswego, now an outpost of New York State, was taken by a surprise, and a strong American army was repulsed after a stubborn fight in the dark at Lundy's Lane within hearing of Niagara Falls. The new armies, made up of Wellington's best regiments, sorely missed their leader. The northern—led by the Governor-General Prevost, whose military judgment was as bad as his political judgment was sound—failed through bad handling in an attack on Plattsburg, the American advanced post on Lake Champlain. The southern spoilt the effect of a well planned and daring advance on Washington by wilfully firing the public buildings there, and then sailed for New Orleans to be wasted in a desperate attack on the defending army, which Andrew Jackson had skilfully intrenched in an impregnable position. Before this last battle was fought peace had been made at Ghent.

'Shannon  
takes 'Ches-  
apeake,'  
June 1, 1813.

Napoleon  
abdicates,  
April 11,  
1814.

Peace of  
Paris, May  
30.

Capture of  
Oswego,  
May 6;

Lundy's  
Lane, July  
25.

Retreat  
from Platts-  
burg, Sept.

Capture of  
Washing-  
ton, Aug. 24;

Battle of  
New Or-  
leans, Jan.  
6, 1815.

Peace of Ghent, Dec. 24, 1814. The European peace had removed the grievances which caused the war, and they were not mentioned in the treaty, which did little more than restore captures on either side.

In the United States the war had not been popular—it was rather a politicians' war from beginning to end. The New England States had even threatened to secede from the Union. The confederation was still young, and could ill spare the thirty thousand dead soldiers, the 1,700 captured ships, the twenty million pounds expended, which had been the price of—what? the peace of Ghent. But to Canada, in spite of the cruel ravages of the border war, the three years of struggle had brought confidence and prosperity and the sense of a common nationality through all its territories. The heroes of the war were common property: and in that list men saw names from the three nationalities of Britain, from French Canadians, from U.E. loyalists, from the friendly Indian tribes. Brock and Tecumseh had taken Detroit: Salaberry and McDonnell had saved Montreal: and all the petty grievances of past years disappeared in a white heat of patriotism which welded the Canadas into one, while Congress saw vanish its last hopes of winning over a people whose homes it had so wantonly attacked and so brutally destroyed.

#### *E. Constitutional Struggles and Reforms.*

For the next twenty years the history of Canada

is mainly taken up with matters of local interest. It was an era of expansion: the waste lands were rapidly populated with European immigrants, and the provinces were opened up and at the same time drawn closer together by improved methods of communication. The Lachine Canal near Montreal, the Welland Canal round Niagara Falls, were the beginning of works which have since given an unbroken waterway from Lake Superior to the Atlantic: and the difficult passage of the St. Lawrence River between its tidal waters and Lake Ontario was evaded by another long canal which struck across from Kingston (once Fort Frontenac) to Bytown on the Ottawa. Fisheries and farms, commerce and education, flourished alike under the care of such governors as the Earl of Dalhousie.\*

But the long peace was loosening the bonds that war had welded; and the Act of 1791 began to grow cumbersome upon the limbs of a nation so rapidly growing. That Act had given Canada representative but not responsible government: the elected Assemblies could help to make laws, but had no enforceable control over the executive bodies: and the Councils, composed of Crown nominees, were often antagonistic to the expressed wishes of the people. Canada was the first of British colonies on which trial had been

Material  
growth and  
prosperity.

The Rideau  
Canal.

The nation  
grows rest-  
less.

\* Father of the great Indian Viceroy.

made of the new colonial system : the partial self-government which Pitt's Act had granted was avowedly an experiment, and the time was coming when new experiments would be required to meet new conditions.

In Lower Canada the disturbance arose mainly from racial quarrels. The French formed a great majority in the province and controlled the assembly : the British minority almost monopolized the Council and dominated the Government. Neither party did much to conciliate the other. The Assembly had control of all taxation except the Customs, and used its power in a way which resembles the Transvaal policy of recent years, to make the merchants pay as much and the land-owners as little as possible. Adequate representation was refused to British settlers in the Eastern Farms, and a noisy clique among the French talked wildly about an independent republic and a "*nation Canadienne*." The British party, on the other hand, was too prone to look on its French fellow-citizens as a conquered race : successive governors\* abandoned the neutrality which was their duty and used their power to ignore and sometimes to insult the Assembly. When supplies were refused them, they annexed the Customs revenue

\* The colonial governors of those days (see Australia for other examples) looked upon themselves as chief ministers of the Crown controlling unruly Cabinets and Legislatures.

and supplemented it with the proceeds of Crown lands sales and leases; bills were vetoed on every possible pretence, and even when the rejection was justifiable it was made unnecessarily harsh.

In Upper Canada the racial differences did not exist, but religious quarrels amply supplied their place. The Act of 1791 had set apart for the support of the Protestant clergy one-seventh of all lands granted by the Crown.

Quarrels in  
Upper  
Canada.  
The Clergy  
Reserves.

In Lower Canada this was simply an endowment of the church of the minority, the Catholic Church having received similar and larger endowments before 1763; and any grievance in connection with it was thus merged in the racial dispute. In Upper Canada practically all the settlers were Protestants of one kind or another, and therefore claimed for their own denominations a share in the endowment. The Imperial Government tried to compromise by limiting it to the established Churches of Great Britain—*i.e.*, the Anglican and Presbyterian: but this failed to satisfy the Anglicans, who wanted the whole for themselves, and in no way appeased the denominations still shut out, which contained a very large proportion of the U.E. Loyalists. The political grievance also existed in Upper Canada, where the Council and the Govern-

The Family  
Compact.

ment had fallen into the hands of a clique, known as the "Family Compact," which controlled the Governor\* and judges, directed the banks, and

\* Remember that each province had a Governor to itself.



distributed Crown lands lavishly among its friends. The Compact was strongly Anglican, and so the political and religious questions became one. The maritime provinces, too, were struggling against their imperfect form of government, and striving to acquire for their assemblies control of all taxation and of the executive body; but neither party went to extremes, and reforms were eventually brought about by peaceful means only.

In the two Canadas this rapidly became impossible. The malcontents of the lower province gathered round Papineau, an orator no less indiscreet than persuasive, who had been for many years Speaker of the Quebec Assembly. In Ontario a Scotch Radical editor, William Lyon Mackenzie, championed the cause of reform, but soon alienated the best part of his following by hinting at "freedom from the baneful domination of the mother country"—which to the French Canadians might mean real independence, but to the U.E. loyalist savoured of absorption into the hated republic further south. It

The revolutionary leaders, Papineau and Mackenzie.

was the time of Reform Governments at home, and the Whigs did everything in their power to satisfy legitimate Canadian grievances: first the Customs, then the land revenue, were handed over to the motinous Assembly

Whig Ministries in Britain, 1830-41.

at Quebec: the new Governor-General, Lord Gosford, promised absolute impartiality and the settlement of the Clergy

Lord Gosford Governor-General, 1835-8.

Reserves in accordance with the Assembly's wishes. But responsible government was not to be given. It meant, so men not without warrant thought at home, an independent French community holding the Lower St. Lawrence, and blocking all the inland country to British commerce: and what Lower Canada could not be trusted with must be in fairness withheld from Upper Canada also.

So Lord Gosford's mission failed, and the mutineers grew bolder daily. Papineau and Mackenzie corresponded, and the Frenchman openly advocated separation. He wrote a letter to the Speaker of the Ontario Assembly, proposing a revolution and promising help from the United States. "Let them come if they dare," said the impulsive Governor of the U.E. province: and, dissolving the Assembly upon that cry, carried the elections against Mackenzie's party by a sweeping majority. In Lower Canada, too, the disclosure of Papineau's aims alienated from him the most powerful body in the province: for the Catholic clergy had no love for Puritan New England, and no desire to see in Canada a repetition of the French Revolution. The two leaders were thus driven to extremes. Mackenzie, shut out of the Assembly, tried to imitate Samuel Adams' famous Committees of Correspondence, and arranged for a sort of Canadian Runnymede at Toronto in the coming spring; Papineau incited his compatriots to form an armed

Sir Francis  
Head Go-  
vernor of  
Upper  
Canada,  
1836-8.

The revolt  
breaks out

militia, and allowed them to display the tricolor.

at Montreal,  
Nov. 6, 1837; The insurgents rose prematurely near Montreal, but were quickly dispersed. Papi-neau fled across the border; New York and Vermont, whose people were inclined to aid the revolt, were kept strictly neutral by sensible governors; and the remnants of the insurgent force, which had followed their leader, were taken prisoners in the spring by the U.S. federal army.

The news from Montreal upset Mackenzie's plans, and he hastened to arrange an earlier rebellion for the 7th of December; in the meanwhile warrants were issued for his arrest, and he was compelled to

near Tor-  
onto, Dec. 4. make a desperate attempt on Toronto two days earlier still. All the regular troops

had been sent to Montreal, but the loyalist volunteers mustered at once under Colonel McNab, and routed Mackenzie's men with very little difficulty. The leaders fled to the States, whence Mackenzie returned in a few weeks to seize an island in the Niagara River. The population of Western New York was not so easy to keep in order as the Lake Champlain districts had been,

Affair of the  
'Caroline,'  
Dec. 28. and aided the rebels with men, provisions, and ammunition, sending them across in the

steamer "Caroline" in full view of the loyal Canadian army on the opposite shore. In the excitement of the times a small British force boarded the "Caroline" by night as she lay moored to the American shore, fired her, and turned her loose to

go over the Falls; and the same Americans who had openly aided Mackenzie nearly embroiled their Government in a war with Britain by their outcries about this violation of neutral soil. During the next year there was intermittent fighting along the border-line, mostly at the Detroit end of Lake Erie: but the rebellion never had a chance of permanent success, and excited nothing but hatred among the Canadians of both provinces from the moment its leaders appealed to American aid. By the end of 1838 every spark of it was quenched, and the guilty parties imprisoned or in exile.

The news of these risings stirred the Imperial Government to prompt and just action. The Constitution of Lower Canada was suspended in favour of a temporary government by a nominated Council, in spite of the fiery oratory of Lord Brougham, who was anxious to be a second Chatham opposing a new attack on liberty. But the measure was obviously one to meet an emergency, and the new Governor-General, Lord Durham, was instructed to use his powers with a view to the establishment of a still freer form of government while dealing as sternly as need be with the actual insurgents. Lord Durham spent five months only in Canada, during which he had, with merciful illegality, exiled the rebel leaders to Bermuda and pacified the colony: then he returned to England (like many another British

Revolt ends,  
Dec., 1838.  
Lord  
Durham  
Governor-  
General,  
May 27-Nov.  
1, 1838.

statesman) a disappointed man, who had done his best in a very difficult position, and had gained by it the bitter denunciations of the malicious Brougham and a very half-hearted support from the Ministry he had served.

But the five months' rule had resulted in his famous Report on Canada, a monument to his memory which will remain for centuries after Brougham's name has been forgotten. Prepared under his direction by his secretaries, Buller and Wakefield (mainly by the former), the scheme of it and its final shape are entirely Durham's own. It laid bare the whole Canadian trouble—the race differences of Lower Canada, the Compact in Upper, the Clergy Reserves, and above all the irresponsibility of provincial Ministers to the provincial Legislature.

Going beyond local grievances, it laid down for the first time the principle that in all internal matters colonial Ministries should be placed on exactly the same footing as the Ministry at home. "The Crown *must* consent," said Durham, "to carry the Government on by means of those in whom the representative members have confidence." Four questions he proposed to reserve for Imperial control—the form of the new constitution, foreign relations, the regulation of external trade (the same old vague and mischievous phrase), and the disposal of the vast western territories of the Crown; everything else was to be left

The Dur-  
ham Report

advocates  
responsible  
government  
for the  
Colonies.

to the local legislatures. It was the beginning of responsible government beyond the British Islands. The race trouble he proposed to mitigate by joining the two Canadas in a single government, and encouraging a further federal union between all the provinces of British North America.

The Special Council, which Durham had impartially chosen from men of both races, reported strongly in favour of his proposals. Union of the Lower and Upper provinces was, they saw, the only guarantee which would secure that under responsible government the lower St. Lawrence should not become a purely French stream.

In 1841 the Union Act put into force most

of Lord Durham's proposals, uniting the provinces, retaining under Imperial control waste lands and Church endowments (both Catholic and Protestant), making English the official language, and arranging in all other respects for the introduction of responsible government. For some years the constitutional question was still unsettled: the trouble was to decide whether the Governor was a Prime Minister nominated in England to get on as best he could with a possibly hostile Legislature, or simply a representative of the Crown bound by the Crown's constitutional duty of taking the advice of Ministers whom his Legislature supported; but the Imperial Government soon veered round to the latter view, and between 1848 and 1858 responsible government as we now understand it was given to all our

North American colonies. The Council  
1856. was made elective, the Navigation Acts  
1849. were repealed, the Clergy Reserves were  
May 9, 1853. handed over to local control, the French language  
 was brought back to a position of equality in  
 official matters, and the capital of the United  
 Province, after being shifted from Kingston to  
 Montreal, and then made movable for some years  
 between Toronto and Quebec, was finally  
Ottawa the  
new capital,  
1857. established by the Queen herself at Bytown  
 on the Ottawa, henceforth to take the  
 name of the great stream that rushes past it.

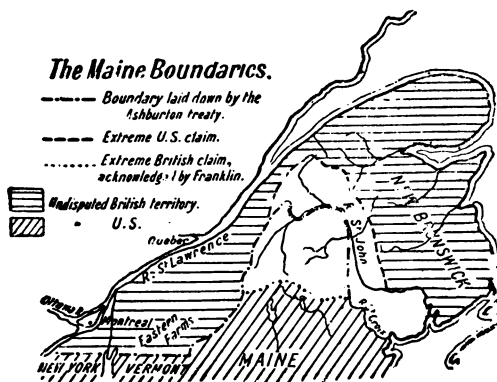
#### *F. Boundary Settlements.*

It was as well that the home Government did  
 everything in its power to soothe Canadian feeling  
 locally, for the Imperial policy of those years gave  
 the colony little satisfaction. The adoption of a  
 Freetrade policy by Sir Robert Peel in  
Repeal of  
the Corn  
Laws, 1846. 1846 struck heavily at Canadian com-  
 merce, which had been fostered by the  
 special advantages previously given to colonial over  
 foreign products in the markets of Britain. A more  
 fatal, because a more permanent, loss was inflicted  
 on British North America by two boundary treaties  
 concluded with the United States in 1842 and 1846.

One concerned the century-old dispute about the  
 ancient boundaries of Acadia. When all Acadia  
 and Canada became British territory in  
The Maine  
boundary. 1763, the border-line between Nova Scotia

(then including New Brunswick) and the Maine district of Massachusetts was fixed in writing by "the mouth of the river St. Croix"; but no river of that name was known, the phrase having been taken from the records of a French expedition in 1603. Behind the river certain highlands were named, also without clear definition: and treaty after treaty had shifted the line of compromise this way and that over the half-explored wilderness of the Aroostook and St. John valleys. Franklin during the negotiations of 1782-3 had admitted to his French colleagues—but not in so many words to the British commissioners—the correctness

Franklin's  
map.



of the British claim, which gave the Penobscot valley to Massachusetts, the St. John watershed to Nova Scotia. But Franklin's map was left in



Paris, and was unknown to Britain; so that when (after an attempt at Dutch arbitration in 1827) Lord Ashburton was sent to Washington to get the difficulty settled, he was ignorant not only of the country in dispute, but of all previous admissions on the American side. Daniel Webster, the American Secretary of State, was much better informed: the British Government was not anxious to be urgent in the matter, seeing that important questions with regard to fugitive slaves had to be settled at the same time: and the Ashburton Treaty, while pretending to compromise the dispute evenly, gave Maine a fertile district that runs up like a wedge into Canadian territory almost to the St. Lawrence, and left New Brunswick the owner of a remnant of barren lands cut off from any real connection with the life of the central British province.

A few years afterwards a more equitable but no less annoying adjustment of boundaries was made at the other side of the continent. The Ashburton Treaty had fixed a common border-line for the States and Canada as far as the Rocky Mountains, making another display of the English negotiator's weakness in the curious arrangement known as the "Minnesota kink." Beyond the Rockies Spain claimed territory up to latitude 40°, Russia down to latitude 54° 40'; the intermediate lands, known generally as Oregon,

The United States refuse to accept the King of Holland's decision.

The Ashburton Treaty, 1842.

The Oregon question.

had been explored by Englishmen and Americans indifferently, and were held (under a Convention of 1818) by both nations as joint occupants without prejudice to any claim on either side. This meant for many years merely that the Fur Companies of either nation might hunt and trap unmolested throughout the entire area. But from 1836 onwards American settlers began to enter Oregon, and the British Fur Companies imported colonists to balance them. Whitman, the leader of the first American expedition, saw there was no time to be lost : in five months he rode four thousand miles in the dead of winter over the most <sup>Whitman's ride.</sup> inhospitable of wildernesses and the most desolate of storm-swept prairies: he reached Washington almost at the time when Congress was about to abandon Oregon as useless, and secured a delay in the negotiations till he had done his best to people it with American citizens. Then he began a campaign among the hardy pioneers of the Upper Mississippi, and succeeded by his enthusiasm in despatching caravan after caravan over the Rocky Mountains, till the land that in 1840 had numbered less than two hundred American inhabitants in 1846 claimed twelve thousand. In 1844 the United States was plunged into the turmoil of a Presidential election. The Democratic party, whose strength lay among the Southern slave-owners, wanted to bring into the Federation as additional slave-holding territory the Mexican province of Texas. Their

policy thus being one of annexation, they were quite willing to demand Oregon also: and "the whole of Oregon or none" was one of the cries

that won them the election. Their President, however, soon found that the Mexican war would give him enough to do, and asked for a compromise in the north-west.

President  
Polk not  
belligerent.

Britain offered the line of the Columbia River. "Fifty-four forty or fight," retorted the irrepressible Western Democrats. But the Southerners, eager for Texas, preferred Polk's policy of conciliation: and after a good deal of haggling the line of latitude 49°, which formed part of our boundary east of the Rockies, was prolonged across them to the sea, dipping southward there to leave Vancouver Island wholly British territory.

British N.  
America in  
1860.

About the year 1860, therefore, British North America was divided as follows:—

NEWFOUNDLAND was a British colony, with responsible government since 1855, but subject to French fishery rights along its whole western coast: it included within its jurisdiction the coast-lands of Labrador.

NOVA SCOTIA, NEW BRUNSWICK, and CANADA (including most of the St. Lawrence valley and the peninsula between Lakes Huron, Erie, and Ontario) were separate colonies under responsible government.

THE NORTH-WESTERN COUNTRY beyond the limits of Canada proper up to the Rocky Mountains was under the British Crown, and used mainly by the trappers and fur-traders of two Companies—the Hudson's Bay Company on the shores of its inland sea, and the North-West Company, which revived the old French trade-route by Lakes Winnipeg, Superior, and Nipissing. Forts, really dépôts for the storage of furs and for commerce with the Indians, dotted the territory here and there—Fort Nelson the head-station of the Hudson's Bay Company, Fort William on Lake Superior that of its rival: but there was no settled government over the whole expanse except in

THE RED RIVER COLONY, a settlement of about eight thousand people round Fort Garry: nominally a portion of the Hudson's Bay district, but administered by a Governor and locally-chosen council. The history of this little colony will be more conveniently dealt with later on.

BRITISH COLUMBIA, a Crown colony formed in 1858 from the British share of Oregon, after extensive goldfields had been found there.

VANCOUVER ISLAND, made a Crown colony in 1849.

## CHAPTER V.

### INDIA.

[NOTE ON SPELLING OF HINDOO NAMES.—These have been spelt so as to represent the proper pronunciation as nearly as possible with ordinary English letters: thus *Moolk* has been preferred to *Mulk*, *chout* to *chaut*. Young readers should be careful to accent words like *Bengali* (the *a* a cross between *ah* and *aw*) on the last syllable but one, *not on the last*.]

#### A. *The Country in 1740.*

For thousands of years India was a mere “geographical expression”—the name of a land area, but never of a simple state. As far as concerned inhabitants it was not even as homogeneous as the land area which we call Europe: for within its boundaries were, and are still, found states very highly civilized and tribes of the most ignorant savages. It is only under British rule that the whole country has been brought under one supreme influence, and the wars which periodically ruined the native farmers have been finally prohibited.

The Indian peninsula consists, roughly speaking, of two oblongs and a triangle. The oblong of the



TO VIKI  
ABROGADO

Indus valley and the longer and more fertile oblong of the Ganges valley are set at right angles to each other, the one bearing south-west and the other south-east. Their common north-eastern boundary, the range of the Himalayas, is impregnable against invasion. To southward there juts into the Indian Ocean a triangular table-land, the Deccan, which slopes towards the east and is commanded from end to end by the ridge of the Western Ghats. Both edges, however, eastern and western, are practically impregnable against serious invasion from the sea, especially as there is not a harbour worth speaking of between the Hooghly mouth of the Ganges and Bombay. There are thus four routes only by which a conqueror could approach India—by Ganges mouth, by Indus mouth, and round the ends of the Himalayan range; and these may be reduced to two, since the Indus route is blocked by sandy deserts, and beyond the eastern Himalaya route (the Brahmapootra valley) there have never been tribes strong enough to carry out an invasion.\* The Ganges entrance is, of course, suitable only for attacks from the sea, and so remained unused until the arrival of the British. Wherefore it is by the western Himalaya route—the Afghan passes—that tribe after tribe has come down upon the riches of the Indian plains, until they now contain a confused mass of nearly two hundred different

\* Both routes have been tried—the Indus by Alexander the Great, the Brahmapootra by Burma in 1822.



nationalities, speaking more than a hundred different languages.

The history of British domination, as opposed to the mere trading communication which we spoke of in Chapter II, begins with the break-up of the Mogul Empire after 1707. In districts where Mogul conquest had been thorough, this meant the practical independence of the Mogul viceroys : in the Ganges valley, for instance, the Nawabs of Oudh\* and Bengal established themselves as hereditary rulers of those provinces, and the Nawab of Hyderabad did the same in the central Deccan. All round these orderly Mohammedan governments there sprang up again independent Hindoo states, bitter enemies of the empire which had for so long mastered them. On the Upper Indus a religious association of Hindoo clans was growing into the powerful Sikh nation. The Rajpoot chiefs of the lower Indus refused to pay tribute. In the far south of the Deccan the ancient kingdom of Mysore began to flourish again. But the most dangerous of these Hindoo states was the Mahratta confederacy. Akin to the Rajpoots, but more actively warlike, the Mahratta bands depended on their raids for their living. Their stronghold in the knot of mountains that ends the Western Ghauts to northward commanded every

Break-up of the Mogul Empire into semi-independent principalities.

Mohammedan states—Oudh, Bengal, Hyderabad.

Hindoo confederacies—Sikh, Rajpoot, Mahratta.

\* Pronounced *Owdh*.

fertile province of India. To the strongest Mogul emperors they had given trouble, and they took full advantage of the empire's decline. To save themselves the trouble of repeated raids, they arranged with the rulers of the districts they had ravaged for a yearly payment of blackmail, known as *chout*; and in many of these districts the Mahratta tribute-collectors made themselves absolute lords, and thus extended the limits of the confederacy till it stretched from its centre at Poona north-eastwards half-way across India and southwards along the Ghauts to Mysore, while there was even a Mahratta outpost in the principality of Tanjore, on the coast below Madras.

B. *The Struggle between England and France.*

On the edge of all this turmoil, and keeping themselves as much aloof from it as possible, the staffs of three European trading companies occupied some dozen or so of trading settlements, nominally (and on occasion practically) on sufferance of the Mogul viceroys. The companies themselves varied a good deal in prosperity. The Dutch East India Company was prosperous enough, but its Indian trading stations were of very secondary importance compared to those in Ceylon and the Malay Archipelago. The English Company was a very rich corporation of London merchants whose whole object was trade, who understood their business thoroughly well,

The Euro-  
pean trading  
companies;

Dutch,

English,

and who had no desire to meddle with the internal politics of the peninsula ; and they had so prospered as to have been able to lend the British Government nearly five millions of money, in consideration of which they were almost entirely free from political control. The French Company, on the

*French.* other hand, was under close Government supervision. The more its directors complained of this interference, the more did the Ministers appoint new Commissioners to interfere further. It was the time of Louis XV, and the whole state of politics was rotten ; the controlling officials of the Company in India could only chafe against the system that was forced on them, till they were driven into wild and adventurous schemes to make them independent of State aid—for this Company made no real profits at all, and had to borrow from the French Government, first and last, nearly seven million pounds.

It was the French officials, therefore, who first conceived the idea of dragging from the ruins of the Mogul Empire power and wealth enough to

*Dupleix enters upon a forward policy, 1741.* set their affairs straight. A new governor, Dupleix, was sent out in 1741, and he at once let his subordinates know that mere

commercial work was to give way to political victories. Before he left Europe the "Jenkins' ear" war\* had begun, and he foresaw that France would soon join in it ; his first care, therefore, was to protect the chief settlement, Pondicherry, by fortifications against an

\* See p. 89.

attack from the sea, while he hoped by intrigues with the Subadar of the Deccan, Nizam-ul-Moolk, and with his deputy governor of the Carnatic coast, to make the English position at Madras untenable directly war should break out. The war came in 1744, but directions from the headquarters of both <sup>War between England and France, 1744.</sup> Companies delayed hostilities in India. In 1745 an English fleet attacked Pondicherry, and was warned off by the Nawab of the Carnatic, who claimed that the settlements were in his territory and not independent; but when the next year a French fleet attacked Madras, Dupleix's policy was justified, and the Nawab who had interfered against the British refused to interfere against the French. The town was accordingly taken, but by the French <sup>Madras taken, Sept. 25, 1746.</sup> Admiral Labourdonnais: Dupleix therefore at once demanded its surrender to him, and stirred up the Nawab to put in his claims also. The two combined were too strong for Labourdonnais, who left the coast with his fleet; while Dupleix seized the town and the prisoners, calmly cancelled the terms on which they had surrendered, kept them to figure in a triumphal march to Pondicherry, and when the Nawab repeated his claim turned savagely on him and broke up his army completely. The arrival of another English fleet checked him, and Pondicherry was besieged, but unsuccessfully; and in 1749 there came news of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, by which Madras was restored to the English.\*

\* In exchange for Louisbourg: see p. 92.

This war, small as its results apparently were, had really altered the whole position of the Companies in

India. The English had been submissive to the native rulers ; they had fought badly ; they had been defeated, and disgraced as

The French  
Company  
triumphant :

prisoners. Dupleix's fighting had been as bold and as successful as his intrigues ; he had mastered the English and the Nawab alike ; he was in command of a splendid body of seasoned troops. He seemed on the high road to empire. But to control India a

European nation must first control the way to India, and France had no fleet left ; the Coromandel coast, moreover, was too harbourless and indefensible a base from which

but its  
triumph  
useless  
for want of  
sea-power.

to establish great dominion. The wars in the Carnatic helped to settle whether France or Britain should have a free hand in India ; but had the British headquarters stayed at Madras, there would have been no Indian Empire of the Queen to-day.

However, Dupleix had not reasoned this out, and at the time his plan of subordinating commerce to politics seemed to have been quite successful.

Dupleix in-  
terferes in  
native poli-  
tics.

Moreover he had an army on his hands which had to be kept up, and so cost money. While he was meditating, the

English Company, which had also its army to be provided for, hit on the idea of hiring it out to a Mahratta prince who had been expelled from the throne of Tanjore ; and Dupleix followed this lead

Tanjore war,  
1749.

instantly with much greater skill. We may formulate his principles in this fashion :—

- (A) When two men fight for a throne, support the one who has least right to it ; for he will acknowledge that he owes his throne to you, while the rightful heir will be less grateful for securing what should have been an undisputed succession.
- (B) European discipline is worth thousands of untrained troops.
- (C) Native troops can acquire European discipline ; it is the training, not the nationality, which counts.

Now it happened that in 1748 Nizam-ul-Moolk died, and the whole of his dominions were at once in an uproar, during which the Nawab of the Carnatic was also killed. Dupleix promptly gave his support to pretenders to both successions: the English officials were thus forced into supporting the real heirs, sons of the two deceased princes. There was marching and countermarching, plot and counterplot ; but within the year Dupleix had brought in both his candidates, and his best officer, Bussy, whom he had sent to Hyderabad with the new Subadar, took immediate action when the prince was assassinated, and set up another Subadar on his own account. - Fired by this fresh proof of French power, Dupleix urged the new Nawab of the Carnatic to exterminate his rival and the English who aided him, and sent a

Civil war in  
the Deccan.

Bussy  
sets up Sala-  
but Jung at  
Hyderabad,  
1751.

Siege of Trichinopoly, 1751. combined French and native force against Trichinopoly, where the English candidate still held out. "At this moment," to quote

Macaulay, "the valour and genius of an obscure\* English youth suddenly turned the tide of fortune."

Lieutenant Clive, who had already done good service in the Tanjore expedition, was sent from Madras to

Clive takes Arcot, Aug. 31, and holds it against the French. relieve Trichinopoly: but at his own suggestion he was allowed instead to surprise the Nawab's undefended capital of Arcot, and held it for seven weeks with five hundred

men against ten thousand. Directly the siege was raised

Arnee. Caverypauk. he marched against the nearest French army and defeated it twice with great loss. The

allies of the English Company took heart again. Trichinopoly was relieved, the besieging troops in their turn shut up and forced to surrender, and the Nawab, escaping to Tanjore, was there put to death. The war lingered on for another two years, and was then ended decisively by orders from home.

The French directors discovered that they were £80,000 in debt: the French Government was not anxious just at the time for a general war with

Dupleix recalled, Aug. 1754. Godeheu makes terms with the E.I.C. Britain. So Dupleix was recalled, and his successor concluded a treaty with the authorities at Madras which restrained both companies from any further interference in native politics, and equalised the terri-

\* Not so obscure after all—in 1747 he had been specially praised for "his martial pursuits" by the Court of Directors.

tories which they might still hold. Of all Dupleix's policy there remained only one result ; Bussy was safe at Hyderabad, the chief adviser of the Subadar, and the master of an army all his own, with a rich strip of coastland (called the Northern Circars) to provide its pay and food.

The treaty was no sooner made than evaded. Interference with native powers was forbidden, but the Indian staffs of both Companies interpreted the phrase to exclude help given to The treaty is disregarded. a native power at its own request. And Clive, who had gone for a visit to England, made the reasons for this conduct very clear, saying that "so long as there was one Frenchman in arms in the Deccan, or in India, there could be no peace." Bussy, therefore, was the object of Clive's intended attack directly he returned—first by way of Bombay and a Mahratta alliance, then (for the Bombay Council was timid) from his old base at Madras. But events in Bengal, which we shall presently deal with, frustrated this plan also, and set him to achieve greater and more permanent conquests than the Deccan could have provided.

By this time a general European war had broken out, and the French Government prepared an important expedition against the English possessions in India ; but the preparations were so slow The Seven Years' War begins, 1756. that the Comte de Lally, its commander, did not reach the Indian coast till 1758. Events in the Carnatic. A year earlier he would have found Madras at



his mercy : as it was, he found an English fleet ready to meet him, and could do no great harm. Foolishly

enough he therefore summoned Bussy to his aid from Hyderabad. It was a fatal mistake. Bussy recalled to the coast. Affairs in the Deccan were again in

confusion, and though Bussy had cleverly retained his position, it was only by his presence at the capital in person. His departure sacrificed everything. The subordinate Rajas, always jealous of him, at once invited Clive to invade the Northern Circars from Bengal ; and the Subadar whom Bussy himself had

set up proved very willing to accept an English alliance, by which he bound himself to employ no Frenchman in the future throughout his dominions. Salabut Jung treats with the English, 1759.

As for Lally, his condition grew worse daily, and the English knew it. "What will become of us ?" so ran

a letter to Bussy's lieutenant which they captured, "our money has gone, our fleet

has gone, the army is discontented ; we cannot raise money on the credit of France, we are not even respected as Frenchmen." Such ruin had Clive

and his policy inflicted on them since the glories of Dupleix's prosperity ! After a good deal of manœuvring Lally was attacked outside Fort

Wandewash, by Captain Eyre Coote. The battle was a curious one ; the native troops

on both sides deliberately held back in order to let the Europeans have a fair fight ; and when at last the capture of Bussy made the French retreat,

Lally's army in evil plight.

Wandewash, Jan. 22, 1760.

though in good order, the *prestige* that had once attached to French troops was gone for ever from the native mind. For a year more Lally held out desperately ; but on the 17th of January, 1761, Pondicherry was surrendered to Coote, and within a month no spot of Indian soil remained under the French flag.

By the Peace of Paris in 1763 the actual French trading settlements were restored to their owners, but only on condition that no troops should be kept, no forts erected in Bengal, and no relations of any kind entered into with the native rulers. The restoration was therefore politically unimportant ; and on the renewal of war between France and England in 1778 there was no difficulty in recapturing these stations. So easy indeed was it, and so little have British administrations since feared that any hostile use could be made of the settlements, that they were again handed back to France in 1815, and are hers to-day.

The Peace of Paris puts an end to French hopes of an Indian Empire.

### C. *The British gain a foothold in Bengal.*

The exceedingly great fertility of the Lower Ganges Valley had made it from very early times the most valuable prize of Indian conquest. The original Aryan invaders had expelled the tribes whom they found there and occupied the country themselves ; but their greed was their ruin. Camped on an exuberant soil, themselves as prolific as their crops, they forgot their warlike skill and the

The inhabitants of Bengal.

courage that had placed them there. The conquerors who followed—Afghan, Turk, Tartar, Mogul—with better judgment left this degenerate race to till the soil, but took care that the profits of it should be secured for their own reward. So the Hindoo of Bengal was driven to cheat, as he could not fight, if he would retain the fruits of his labour. Cunning became his courage, and lying his virtue; he thought of forging seals and documents as lightly as some men nowadays think of smuggling a few pounds of tobacco through the Customs. A change of rulers was if anything welcome to him—there was always a chance that he could utilise against the newcomer tricks which his late governors had found out and made of no avail.

As the Mogul Empire fell to pieces, Bengal had passed into the hands of an Afghan soldier, Aliverdy

Khan. He was a strong man, and just, as justice went in those disturbed times; and during his Viceroyship (for nominally he was but a lieutenant of the Emperor at

Aliverdy  
Khan makes  
himself absolute ruler of  
Bengal, 1740-  
1756.

Delhi) the three European trading companies lived peaceably side by side. All were treated alike, and each forbidden to take any steps that might seem to threaten the others with war. But in 1756 he died, almost at the same time that news reached India of the imminent Seven Years' War.

His adopted son and successor, Suraj-ud-dowlah, had all his domineering spirit without real strength of mind at his back; he was

He is succeeded by  
Suraj-ud-dowlah.

as vicious as the uncontrolled children of despots usually are, and he was stirred to hatred of the English by a suspicion that they had been intriguing against his succession. His protection, therefore, against outside attacks could not be counted on; and the officials at Calcutta began to fortify themselves, expecting a raid from the French station at Chander-nagore. The young Nawab imperiously forbade them to go on, and when they tried to explain matters took it as an insult that they should trust him less than his grandfather. He marched against Calcutta, from which most of the officials and all the trading ships then in the river fled at once; those who were left in the fort surrendered only to be packed (not, apparently, by the Nawab's orders) into a small and ill-ventilated prison; and in one night out of a hundred and forty-six prisoners all but twenty-three died miserably.

The horror of this event, even more than the actual loss of territory and trade, roused the Madras Council to take urgent measures against Suraj-ud-dowlah. Clive had just arrived from Bombay, and was planning a campaign in the Deccan; he was despatched to the Hooghly with orders to get things settled as rapidly as possible in Bengal before the anticipated expedition should arrive from France. Six weeks had already been lost in transmission of the news from Calcutta to Madras, two months in discussion, and two more in the transport of Clive's troops to Bengal; but by February of the next year

Capture of  
Calcutta.  
June 21, 1756.  
The "Black  
Hole."

Clive sent  
with troops  
from Madras.

Calcutta had been recovered, the Nawab's army beaten outside it, and a treaty of complete restitution concluded with the defeated prince. Clive had still a couple of months

Battle of Calcutta, Feb. 3, 1757.

to spare, and employed them in reducing Chandernagore. This roused the Nawab again; he formed a great camp at Plassey, and waited there in the hope of getting

Siege and capture of Chandernagore, March 14-24.

help from Bussy in the Deccan before moving to crush the small English force altogether. But Clive, abandoning all idea of returning to Madras as he had promised, now made up his mind by fair means or foul to establish English supremacy in Bengal. Suraj-ud-dowlah was not to be treated with on such terms—he hated the English too much; the commander of his army, Meer Jaffir, was more tractable, and it was arranged that on the Nawab's defeat he should be placed on the throne of Bengal. Immediately Clive marched against the camp at Plassey, where lay a native army of more than fifteen times its numbers,\*

hammered it with well-served artillery, stormed it directly there were signs of yielding, and dispersed the unwieldy mass of soldiery without even the trouble of pursuit. The next day Meer Jaffir was acknowledged as Nawab of Bengal.

Plassey, June 23.

The new ruler had not a happy reign. By the terms of his arrangement with Clive he was com-

\* Estimates vary from 45,000 to 68,000. Clive had 1,000 English soldiers and 2,000 Sepoys.

pelled to pay the Company and its officers more than two millions of money, partly as compensation for their losses by the seizure of Calcutta, partly as presents to the men who had seated him on his throne. To supply his thus emptied treasury he had recourse to the usual native methods of extortion, and raised revolts against himself on every side. Clive, now President of the Bengal Council, was divided between the necessity of backing his own Nawab and the desire that a man whom English power supported should not discredit his friends by tyrannies ; and in the middle of this he was interrupted by an invasion of Bengal from the north-west, where the Nawab of Oudh was restless at the success of the English. The mere approach of Clive's army, however, drove the invaders back over the border, and he was able to return without delay to Calcutta, where he found himself in the midst of a new conspiracy in which Meer Jaffir had entangled himself with the Dutch. His arrival precipitated matters ; the Dutch began hostilities, and without hesitation Clive defeated and captured their fleet, and drove their land-forces with great slaughter inside their fort at Chinsurah. These measures were sufficient. The Dutch hastily agreed to keep no troops in future and to pay all expenses of the short war ; and no further attempt was ever made by Europeans to disturb British supremacy in Bengal.

Meer Jaffir's  
unhappy  
reign.

Invasion of  
Bengal from  
Oudh, 1759.

Operations  
against the  
Dutch.  
Nov., 1759.

Meanwhile in Upper India things were happening

in which the English took no share, but which proved of immense importance in aiding the consolidation of British rule. Mogul rule even at Delhi had become a mere pretence, controlled at one time by the Afghan chief, Ahmed Shah, at another by the Mahrattas.

Afghans and  
Mahrattas  
fight for  
control of the  
Mogul Em-  
peror.

Either of these powers could have made from the ruins of the Mogul Empire a formidable barricade against the spread of Company rule. But the Mahrattas, who were nothing if not audacious, could not leave their rival alone. In Delhi Ahmed Shah might have left them, but they invaded his favourite province of the Punjab and seized Lahore. All Upper

Mahrattas  
at Lahore,  
May, 1758.

India was drawn into the conflict, which roused to its utmost the perennial hatred of Mahommedan for Hindoo. The Afghan Prince swept down from his passes across the Indus, in three fierce battles drove the invaders back upon Delhi, and struck across into the Ganges Valley by the old route

Ahmed Shah  
invades  
India, Sept.,  
1759.

that conquerors had used since the days of pre-historic legend. At Paniput on the Jumna he met the whole Mahratta army, a little smaller than his own. No battlefield has seen more thrones lost and won : Baber, the first, and Akbar, the greatest of the Moguls, found their empire there ; and they were only the last of a line that runs into the semi-mythical times of the Trojan war. This, the final battle,<sup>1</sup> was worthy of the place. A hundred and fifty thousand

Paniput.  
Jan. 7, 1761.

trained soldiers, besides innumerable masses

of guerillas, charged each other desperately from morning to night ; and when the Mahrattas at last broke and fled, the slaughter among them was so great that for all practical purposes their army had disappeared. Even the victorious troops were too demoralised to be trustworthy any longer for conquest ; the last victor of Paniput was compelled to stay his progress just where the triumphant career of his predecessors had begun. Ahmed Shah retired to Afghanistan to reconstruct his army, and when after many years a fresh invasion from that quarter was thought of, the Sikh Confederacy had made itself an impenetrable barrier across the road now closed for ever.

#### D. *First Attempts at Ruling.*

So it happened that for the next few years no power existed in India formidable enough to seriously disturb the Company in its new dominions. This was a stroke of great good luck, for after Clive's departure from Bengal in 1760 the administration of that province became disordered and disgraceful. The Calcutta Council took up the position that it represented a trading company which had nothing to do with governing, and required simply revenue and the fulfilment of contracts. This threw upon the Nawab, who was of course dependent on the Council's support, the responsibility of keeping order and collecting taxes in Bengal ; while he was equally forced to run constant risk of creating disorder, since the subsidies de-

Mal-admin-  
istration of  
Company's  
officials in  
Bengal.



by the Council were more than any legitimate taxation could meet, and the trade privileges which had to be granted to the Company irritated all the native merchants. Every member but one of the Council, moreover, was eager to use his position in his own private interests. They remembered the great division of spoil that followed Meer Jaffir's enthronement, and they determined to repeat the process in the hope of sharing no less riches.\* Meer

Meer Jaffir  
deposed,  
1760;

Jaffir was deposed, and his son-in-law, Meer Kassim, made Nawab in his place; the revenues of three districts were handed over to the Company, and the Councillors got nearly a quarter of a million between them. But these further extortions naturally aggravated the evil; Meer Kassim failed more miserably than his predecessor; in desperation he broke with the English altogether, revoked their trading privileges, and killed one of their officers. The Council declared him deposed, and dragged poor old Meer Jaffir out again, taking care that he confirmed all the grants previously obtained from Meer Kassim.

and re-  
stored, 1763.

The rebel Prince was thrice defeated, and, after massacring at Patna all the English he could lay hands on, fled to Oudh. There he joined Soojah-ud-dowlah, who was at once Nawab of Oudh and Vizier

\* It is only fair to say that the Directors of the Company at home knew nothing of all this till it was done, and when they did know did their best to restrain and repress the arbitrary proceedings of the Council.

of the sham Emperor at Delhi, and who had already since Clive's departure made one unsuccessful attack on Bengal. The united armies advanced against Patna, but were met and utterly routed at Buxar by Major Munro. This battle put India for the moment absolutely at the Company's mercy. In the whole Ganges Valley there was no centre of resistance left, and the Mahrattas, not yet recovered from the blow of Paniput, were fully occupied with attempts to restore their influence in the Deccan and Mysore. The Vizier made one more attempt to rally Hindoos and Mohammedans alike against the Company's forces; but the battle of Corah crushed even this forlorn hope.

Siege of  
Patna, May  
1764.

Buxar, Oct.  
22.

Corah, May  
3, 1765.

On the day that battle was fought, Clive, now Lord Clive, landed in Calcutta. The mal-administration of the last few years had become notorious in England, and the private avarice of the Calcutta Council had almost annihilated the Company's profits. In the first four months of 1765 nearly £700,000 was paid to individuals in the Company's service from the treasury of the provinces, partly by Meer Jaffir on account of his restoration, partly after his death to obtain the succession for one of his sons. It was to put an end to scandals like these that Clive came out, with a practical dictatorship in civil and military matters, and found the fate of all Northern India in his hands. If he wished it, Delhi was his; but he

Clive re-  
turns to  
Bengal to  
bring about  
reforms.

had no desire to thrust greater dominion on a Company which so ill managed what it had. Also he knew the Mahrattas, and did not care to lay the boundaries of British territory open to their future attacks. The Emperor, therefore, was given the revenues of two rich districts along the Middle Ganges to support his state.

Soojah-ud-dowlah was reinstated in Oudh; for that province, left semi-independent, would be a useful buffer between Bengal and the

His arrange-  
ments with  
the Nawab  
of Oudh.

Mahrattas. But as a check on the Vizier Clive established on his southern border a small Hindoo domain to be administered by the Raja of Benares. As for Bengal, two things were clear. The Company *must* undertake the responsibility of government—yet the merchants who formed it would be most unwilling to exchange their commercial for Imperial duties. Clive solved the difficulty

Grant of the  
Diwani,  
Aug. 12,  
1765.

by accepting for the Company the *diwani* or treasurership of the Bengal provinces.

The Mogul *diwans* had been officers in the various provinces charged with the collection of revenue and its remittance to the imperial treasury; such an office was not inappropriate to the mercantile character of the Company; and its execution, in an Indian state, really included most of the acts which a government must undertake to keep order and to administer justice among its subjects. This arrangement, therefore, pleased both the emperor and the new puppet Nawab of Bengal, who saw sure incomes before them and no trouble; it satisfied the Com-

pany, which obtained a revenue of more than a million and a half when all expenses in India had been paid ; and it offered the native population the firm control of a single master, intent on peace and prospering in their prosperity.

These matters settled, Clive turned to reforms in the Company's official staff. He relieved a real grievance, and one which had been partly the cause of past disgraces, by dividing the proceeds of the salt tax proportionately among the civil servants, who had been so badly paid before this that they could only make a living by cheating the Company. In view of that concession private trading was severely restricted, and every official was bound by covenant not to take gifts from any native prince. With equal sternness the perquisites of the army were cut off and the pay system simplified ; and when the officers resigned and the European soldiers mutinied, Clive surrounded them with Sepoy battalions and crushed the mutiny out. In short, in less than two years he had consolidated British power in India, established a strong and just government, and turned Bengal from an adventurers' hunting-ground into an orderly province ; and when he left nothing was needed to complete his work but a second Clive to insist on the fulfilment of his plans.

Clive's reforms in administration.

Mutiny at Mongheer, Mar. 13, 1766.

Clive leaves India, Jan. 29, 1767, and is succeeded by Verelst.

A second Clive, unfortunately, was not yet forthcoming ; and matters in Bengal soon fell back into

something like their old state. Discipline was relaxed, private trading began again, and the reforms not properly carried out.

Company, shrinking still from the responsibilities of administration, interpreted the *diwani* to mean simply reception of the revenue after it had been collected by native officials. Expenses had sprung up on every side to consume even the gigantic sums which Bengal could contribute. The British Government managed in various ways to secure nearly two million pounds a year of revenue from the Company's coffers. Worst of all, the three Councils that sat at Calcutta, Madras, and Bombay were quarrelling among themselves, and the two poorer entered on political intrigues, for which the rich one had eventually to pay. Madras was jealous of Calcutta, as of an upstart that had usurped the older town's position; Bombay was actively envious—why should not Western India also have its Plassey and its Buxar? The question is easily answered. The natives of the Bombay side were men of the hills, not rice-eaters of Bengal; but it had to be answered at the expense of Calcutta.

The Madras Council found themselves, after expelling the French, in close relations with three fickle and dangerous Powers. The Mahrattas

The Madras Council entangles itself in Deccan politics. were gradually getting back their strength, and were training themselves by repeated raids over the Deccan for a renewed attack on Delhi and Oudh. Hyder Ali, whose fighting ability had won him the rule of Mysore, was intent

on building up a kingdom that should be supreme in the peninsula. Nizam Ali (usually called the Nizam\*), the Viceroy of Hyderabad, was the weakest power of the three, but had ambitions which clashed with Hyder's, and a valuable territory which no Mahratta could see without plundering. With such neighbours it was possible to pursue three courses : to guard one's own frontier well, and leave them entirely alone ; to fix on a definite line of interference, and work steadfastly along that line till the peace of the Deccan was assured ; or to interfere first with one, then with another, now blusteringly, now timidly, till all three became so irritated that they would join hands readily against their common tormentor. The Madras Council chose the third course, and carried it out with great success. They fought the Nizam alone ; they fought the Nizam and Hyder ; they engaged by treaty to fight Hyder on behalf of the Nizam, and allied themselves with some of the Mahrattas in order to do so ; then they made another treaty with Hyder and the Mahrattas, promising to help either party if attacked. These two native powers at once began to fight each other, and each demanded the Company's help against the other ; so that by 1769 the Madras Council had broken all its

Nizam Ali  
dethrones  
his brother  
Salabut  
Jung, 1762.

1766.

1767.

Treaty,  
Feb. 1768.

Treaty with  
Hyder,  
April, 1769.

\* Just as later Roman Emperors have been called "the Cæsars," from the founder of the first Imperial dynasty, Julius Cæsar.

treaties and had incurred the reproach of treachery to every state in Southern India. Meanwhile the Mahrattas had regained their fighting strength, and marched large forces against Delhi : the Mogul emperor joined them, glad to get back to his capital on any terms ; and Clive's arrangements of 1765 were seriously imperilled in two quarters, since the invaders at the same time raided Rohilkhund, an independent state on the north-western border of Oudh, and attempted to annex the districts on its southern border which Clive had granted to Shah Alum.

Mahrattas  
in Rohil-  
khund, 1770  
and 1772.

#### E. *The Presidency of Warren Hastings.*

It was just at this time that the directors of the Company began to see how mistaken had been their policy of non-interference in the collection of the Bengal revenue. They determined at last to be as bold as Clive had thought them, and to take into their own hands the duties of the *diwani*. To inaugurate this new policy they appointed to the Presidency of the Bengal Council a man after Clive's own heart, the only member of that degraded Council\* of 1761-5 who had refused to work for his own private gain. In the spring of 1772 Warren Hastings arrived at Calcutta, charged with the creation of a new financial system and the punishment of those who had ruined the old one. He was at once confronted with the

Hastings  
sent out as  
Governor of  
Bengal,  
April 13,  
1772.

\* p. 190.

problem of securing Oudh against Mahratta attacks. The maintenance of Oudh as a buffer state was a cardinal point of Clive's policy, which Clive's disciple was not likely to neglect. Soojah-ud-dowlah agreed to pay the Company half a million pounds if the two imperial districts were returned to him : he offered nearly another half million if the Company's troops would help him to annex Rohilkhund. The Rohillas he represented as a turbulent Afghan warrior-clan dominating a cruelly-oppressed farming population, and their chiefs as men who had deliberately broken a treaty with him and were ready at any moment to invite the Mahrattas across the Ganges : there was some truth in the picture, but Soojah himself was in reality ten times more cruel and treacherous, besides being a coward. Hastings hesitated for some months, and at last despatched the troops required : Rohilkhund became a part of Oudh, and the Ganges was made our bulwark against Mahratta invasion from Benares to the Himalayas.

Meanwhile the administration of Bengal was being remodelled, and Englishmen were installed as collectors of revenue. The chief native official under the old system was Mahomed Reza Khan ; Hastings, by order from the directors at home, removed him from office and put him under restraint while strict enquiry was made into his treasurer-ship. Bengal-fashion, every facility was given to his accusers to prove their case : and when after nearly

The Rohilla  
war, Feb.-  
April, 1774.

The finances  
of Bengal set  
straight.



two years Hastings pronounced his honourable acquittal, he made himself an inveterate enemy in the chief accuser, Nundkhomar the high-caste Hindoo. But the transference of real government from natives to Englishmen had produced its effect, and justified all Clive's anticipations : Bengal was again flourishing, the times of oppression were over, and Hastings began to hope for a quiet and prosperous term of years in his Presidency.

Then Parliament stepped in, and with the best intentions in the world tangled up Indian affairs so that to this day no one quite knows what happened during the next few years or who was in the right.

In the minds of the British public the scandals of 1761-5 were confused with the carelessness that followed Clive's last return from India. The philanthropic politician was beginning to assert himself—the class that abolished the slave trade and nearly ruined South Africa, so noble in its impulses, so dangerously meddling in its want of knowledge. The ministry of Lord North, deprived by the Company's losses of a great source of revenue, saw its chance of at once pleasing the philanthropists and soothing the House of Commons, whose dignity was just then ruffled by the brusque behaviour of the American colonies. In such a temper was passed the famous Regulating Act, a monument of good intentions stupidly carried out. It proclaimed, with a side glance

Indian  
affairs dis-  
cussed in  
Parliament.

Lord  
North's Re-  
gulating Act,  
1773.

towards America,\* “the eminent dominion of Parliament over every British subject.” It made Bengal the chief seat of the Company’s authority, and made the Governor of Bengal Governor-General over all the British settlements—a necessary measure, but so executed as to excite in a most bitter form the jealousy of Madras and the envy of Bombay. It gave the Governor-General a Council of four members, of which under ordinary circumstances he was a member with no more power than any of the others; if on any question there was a majority of votes against him, he was bound to carry out measures which he might think absolutely ruinous to the Company’s interests. He was, indeed, given a casting vote in addition to his own, if the Council should be equally divided—an unlikely event in a body of five. The Act went on to import into India all the complex system of British law. This meant a very great improvement in the administration of justice, for the laxity and corruptibility of the native courts were notorious; but the effect of this reform was spoilt by the introduction of a complicated procedure which confused the native suitor, and a new valuation of crimes which ran contrary to all the native ideas of right and wrong. When one adds that all cases then being tried under the old standards were to be transferred to the new jurisdiction, the wrong-headedness of this pouring new wine into old bottles becomes evident.

Such were the mischievous kindnesses of the Regu-

\* See p. 128.

lating Act ; but the Ministry improved even upon this. They quite omitted to mention whether the Governor-General and his Council could make laws which the Supreme Court must uphold—or whether the Supreme Court\* could veto as unconstitutional edicts which the Council must thereupon revoke. And, having by the Act made it of the highest importance that the Council should work harmoniously together, they appointed to it a majority of amateur reformers, one of

whom was Philip Francis, the most dangerous of friends and the most vindictive of enemies then engaged in English politics.

Francis  
chief mem-  
ber of the  
new Council.

One cannot wonder that within a year the Council was divided by bitter quarrels, and only united against the pretensions of the judges ; while the Supreme Court had become a terror to every litigant in Bengal, and had quite confirmed in the natives that “peculiar turn of mind, by which they expect everything from power and very little from justice.”

The new members of Council very soon showed their hand. They were sworn in on the 24th October, 1774. Within a week they had condemned,

Proceedings  
of the new  
Council. and annulled as far as possible, all Hastings' arrangements with Soojah-ud-dowlah. A

month after they despatched to England an arraignment of Hastings' general policy, and were using every power they had to prove that the Rohilla war had been disgraced by unspeakable barbarities. Failing in that,

\* Cf. the status of the Supreme Court in the Constitution of the United States, and the present dispute in the Transvaal.

they cheerfully began the next year with preferring and investigating charges of peculation, corruption, and others of like nature against the man who had reintroduced honesty into Indian finance : and by May they were interfering with the Supreme Court over the custody of prisoners committed for trial. Their chief witness in the charges against Hastings was Nundkhomar the malevolent Hindoo, the most skilful of the many expert forgers in Bengal. For some years a charge of forgery had been hanging over his head in one of the petty native courts. The Regulating Act transferred this to the Supreme Court, and brought it under the British law which punished forgery with death. The case was tried before the three judges and a jury : the Chief Justice himself summed up almost in the strain of a counsel for the prisoner, pointing out the hardship of this sudden change from native to British jurisdiction. But the jury—they could, in fact, do nothing else in face of the evidence — found Nundkhomar guilty. If at this stage the culprit had been let off lightly, every Bengali would have assumed that he had bribed the judges. It was the first judicial conflict between Eastern and Western ideas : and when the richest forger and the most treacherous Brahmin in Bengal was hanged in the centre of Calcutta, all India understood that the new rulers might be harsh, but were certainly incorruptible.

The story of  
Nundkho-  
mar.

Nundkho-  
mar hanged,  
Aug. 5, 1775.

Hastings was thus, by good luck and the Regulat-

ing Act, relieved of a dangerous enemy : though  
 Hastings obtains control of the Council, 1776. Francis and his party had calculated rightly, when they allowed the execution to proceed, that the relief would be ascribed in England rather to good management than to good luck. For a year more the Governor-General was hampered by the hostile majority in Council : but when Monson, one of the imported three, fell ill and died, parties were suddenly equalized, the casting vote came into operation, and Hastings found himself once more in power. By a curious mischance it happened that at the same moment his friends in England were handing in his resignation, which he had some time before placed in their hands to be used on certain conditions. But the directors, influenced by Lord North's partisanship for his own nominees, cared little about conditions. They hastily accepted the resignation, declared Clavering (the third of the amateurs) Governor-General in Hastings' place, and appointed a new Councillor to fill the vacancy. When the tidings reached India, Clavering with indecent haste asserted his new authority : but Hastings was now in no mood to go. He submitted the whole matter to the Supreme Court—a step which he afterwards regretted—and it was decided in his favour. Francis had tact enough to accept the decision gracefully ; Clavering died of the disappointment ; and for eight more years, the most critical years of British rule in India, Hastings was able to exercise his own profound judgment in preserving the empire, hampered

indeed by the folly of subordinate Presidencies, but no longer bound hand and foot by vicious obstinacy in the men who shared with him the supreme control.

*F. Mahratta and Mysore Wars.*

We must turn back a little to discover what had happened in the Deccan that made those eight years so critical. To begin with, the Bombay Council had in 1774 found its long-looked-for opportunity of emulating and (it hoped) surpassing Dupleix. The Peshwa of the Mahrattas was dead, his natural successor was only just born, and a pretender named Rughoba had sprung up from an elder branch of the family. The officials at Bombay at once backed the pretender, but made a mistake in demanding—and seizing—their reward beforehand. Salsette, an island close to Bombay, and Bassein, a town on the mainland opposite, had long been desired by the Bombay Council; but the Mahrattas had driven the Portuguese from them not forty years before, and it was a point of honour with them not to give up their conquest. When, therefore, Rughoba ceded these places, and when an English army took Salsette by force, the pretender's cause was seriously compromised. The Bengal Council condemned the war at once, and sent over

Foolish interference of Bombay Council in Mahratta affairs.

Death of Narrain Rao Peshwa, Aug 30, 1773.

Salsette taken, Dec 28, 1774.

an agent who concluded a treaty with the Mahratta ministry in which Rughoba was thrown over altogether; but while negotiations were still going on Monson's illness had put Hastings in power, and he saw that when action had once been taken—as it had been in the capture of Salsette—that action must be supported to the point of victory if the Mahrattas were to be kept in check at all. He therefore disallowed the agent's treaty and sent orders to press on the war; but the Bombay Council, with the courage of a street boy who throws stones and runs away, marched their army within sixteen miles of the Mahratta capital, Poona, and then abandoned their heavy artillery and retreated. Rughoba gave himself up in despair to his enemies; the Bombay army was surrounded and laid down its arms. Fortunately Hastings had already despatched troops overland under the command of Colonel Goddard; and for three years this officer maintained his position in the Mahratta country, gaining no great advantages, but occupying the attention of armies many times the size of his own, which otherwise could and would have harried Bengal and ruined Madras in the distracted times that were to follow. If Sir Eyre Coote was, as we shall see, Hastings' right-hand man in the coming turmoil, Goddard may claim a place not much inferior. He took

Treaty of  
Poorundhur,  
Mar. 1, 1776.

Hastings  
disallows the  
treaty.

Surrender  
of Wur-  
gaum, Jan.,  
1779.

Bassein; he suggested, and one of his captains most daringly carried out, the escalade of Gwalior, the strongest of Mahratta fortresses; and to his tact and courage is mainly due the treaty which in 1782 gave both parties an honourable peace, and allowed Hastings to turn his whole strength against even more dangerous enemies in the Carnatic.

Bassein  
taken, Dec.  
11, 1780.

Popham  
takes Gwa-  
lor, Aug. 4,  
1780.

Treaty of  
Salbyc, May.  
17, 1782.

For the Council at Madras had been adding to their long list of ineptitudes. At Bombay, Dupleix had been the model: at Madras they set to work to imitate Hastings' most doubtful piece of policy, the Rohilla war. At the request of the Nawab of the Carnatic they invaded Tanjore and annexed it to his dominions. The directors interfered, and restitution was made: but from that time the English lost the confidence of their last allies in Southern India. In this predicament news was received that France had declared war: and the French fleet in Indian waters was known to be stronger than any the Company could bring against it. Hastings saw there was just one chance of safety. Every town on the coast under French rule was seized at once, as were the Dutch settlements when Holland a little later joined in the war. So the French fleets which year

Troubles in  
the Madras  
Presidency.

Invasion of  
Tanjore,  
Aug., 1773.  
It is restored  
to the Raja  
in April,  
1776.

War with  
France (war  
of American  
Independence), 1778.

Pondicherry  
taken, Oct.,  
1778.  
Mahé taken,  
Mar., 1779.



after year swept along the Coromandel coast, striving to take India from us (as they were taking America) by cutting off communications with the home islands, found no port where they could refit, no means of supplying our enemies with a steady flow of supplies and money: they were reduced to spasmodic landings of troops who were at once left to their own resources, while the ships either sailed back to their nearest station at

Bourbon, two thousand miles away, or engaged in stubborn conflicts with a smaller English fleet that entirely declined to own itself beaten.

Sea fights  
between  
Hughes and  
Suffren,  
1782.

Indeed, it was not in French armies or French fleets that the real danger lay, but in French intrigue with the finest soldier in India.

Hyder Ali  
joins in the  
war.

Of the French settlements taken by Hastings one, Mahé, lay on the western coast of Mysore. Hyder Ali was not the man to claim less authority than had Suraj-ud-dowlah over Calcutta or Anwar-ud-deen over Pondicherry. But he was not yet ready to attack Hastings: the Madras Council, however, he conceived to be at his mercy, and he had an old grudge against them. He matured his plans with great skill: from the Mogul emperor he procured a grant of all the Nizam's dominions; from the Mahrattas, whom the French were guiding, he obtained almost equally favourable terms: he proclaimed a holy war against the infidels in every mosque and every

Hindoo temple of Mysore. Then he burst upon the Carnatic through the passes of the Eastern Ghauts, and drove straight at Madras, cutting in two the small English army. The two parts attempted to unite, but Hyder knew the men he was fighting: he neglected the larger, whose general was incapable, threw his whole force upon the smaller, and marched off in triumph with a few prisoners who survived his attack. But Hastings was undaunted: he scraped together every man and every rupee that could be spared from Bengal and confronted Hyder with Clive's old comrade, Sir Eyre Coote, who had replaced Clavering on the Bengal Council. The progress of the victor was at once checked. He was driven from the siege of several forts which were on the point of surrendering: twice Coote defeated him with great loss: and next year the Mahratta peace let loose against his western frontier the forces of Bombay. French help came, but it did him little good: and at the end of the year he died in harness, with the sure presentiment that his son Tippoo would lose everything that he had gained. He had not, however, calculated enough upon the Madras Council, who, Coote being also dead, reassumed control of the war. They abandoned to Tippoo's vengeance the troops that Bombay had sent to their

His rush  
upon  
Madras,  
July, 1780.

Battle of  
Poolilur,  
Sept. 10.

Porto Novo,  
July 1, 1781;  
Sholinghur,  
Sept. 27.

Death of  
Hyder Ali,  
Dec. 7, 1782.

Capitula-  
tion of Bed-  
nore and  
Mangalore,  
1783.

help: when his auxiliaries retired at the peace of Versailles, and British troops were advancing from north and south at once into the heart of Mysore, they sent him commissioners to beg for peace: they allowed the commissioners to be insulted and threatened without protest, and implored the Mah-rattas and the Nizam to join in their supplications for a treaty. When the treaty was at last contemptuously thrown to them, they did not even trouble to arrange for the release of the troops they had deserted.

Treaty of  
Mangalore,  
Mar. 11,  
1784.

Hastings' administrative work in Bengal.

It is wonderful, seeing how rashness in Bombay and cowardice in Madras continually upset all his plans, that Hastings should have been able to fight at once the French and



the two most powerful states of India, and to leave behind him after the contest an empire undiminished in extent and strengthened in authority. But the whole story of his genius is not yet told. Through the years of struggle, though supreme in his own Council, he was

harassed by disputes with the Supreme Court in Bengal and never-ending reprimands from home.

The judges, thinking they could easily manage the man whom their decision had settled in the Governorship, tried to draw even the details of revenue-collecting within the grasp of their highly technical procedure. Hastings fought them till he succeeded in establishing a separate revenue court under the Company's control, and soothed them by making the Chief Justice its first president. But this, in common with every other act of his, was made an accusation against him by powerful enemies in London: and in some of their attacks, unfortunately, they had a more plausible show of right. All this fighting was not to be done without money: and the revenues of Bengal, large as they were, and in spite of Hastings' able administration, could not support at once a Mysore war, a Mahratta war, and the demands from England for a large dividend. Hastings therefore, following the customs of the Mogul princes, demanded from the Raja Cheyte Singh of Benares an extra contribution for war purposes. This demand was no more unjustifiable to the Hindoo mind than an extra penny on the income tax for war purposes would be to us: for by a treaty concluded in 1775 Cheyte Singh was not an independent ally of the Company, but merely a deputy governor of one of its estates who farmed the taxes under a loosely-worded contract. Nor did he object to the demand

Fight with  
the Su-  
preme  
Court.

The case of  
Cheyte  
Singh.

as a matter of right, but evaded it on the plea of poverty—a plea amply disproved after his flight. In England, however, it was easy to magnify a bailiff into a native prince, and Cheyte Singh was installed beside Nundkhomar as a representative victim of monstrous tyranny.

There was still another channel through which Hastings might receive the money so urgently required of him. The Nawab of Oudh was a million pounds in arrears. When pressed for it he replied that his revenues could not stand the strain: the Bengal Council had chosen to hand over his best paying provinces and his father's treasure-hoard to his father's mother and widow, and until they were returned to him nothing could be done. This had been one of the achievements of the Francis party during its ascendancy: they had interfered with the operation of native law, and had guaranteed the Begums in the illegal possession of that property for a payment of £250,000. Hastings was quite willing to undo an act done against his will and without a shadow of justice: but in a fit of irritation—he believed the Begums to have been mixed up with Cheyte Singh in a riot which nearly cost him his life—he allowed the Nawab too free a hand in reclaiming the misappropriated property. The land was resumed easily, but the treasure was not to be found; and the Begums' secretaries, who had originally managed the whole

The case of  
the Begums  
of Oudh.

affair, were imprisoned and put to the torture. It was actually the Nawab's doing, but Hastings ought to have anticipated and stopped it: he had experience enough of natives to know that they would stop at nothing in their search for treasure—and it was largely to satisfy his directors' demands that the treasure was on this occasion sought. As it was, his name became associated for the first time in India with acts of gross cruelty to people of a native race.

Meanwhile the directors had fallen more and more under the control of Government—which meant the control of Francis and his friends, aided by the great but mis-<sup>Hastings is attacked in Parliament.</sup>guided eloquence of Edmund Burke. The North Ministry had censured the Governor-General whenever they could: the Rockingham Ministry attacked him with a hundred and eleven resolutions, and demanded his recall. The directors were willing enough; but the great body of proprietors\* gallantly stood by him, and accused the directors themselves of causing all the disturbances for which they were condemning Hastings. He could, however, be damaged a good deal without recalling him: the directors annulled his appointments wherever they could, supported the subordinate Councils—even that of Madras—against him, and contradicted every

\* Shareholders, as we should now call them.

statement he made without troubling to enquire into the facts. He stuck to his post  
He resigns,  
Mar. 20,  
1783, manfully until every danger had been overcome; then he sent in his resignation, accompanied with a bitter prayer that his successor might be "a person invested with the powers of the office—not disgraced, as I have been, with an unsubstantial title, left without authority, and given responsibility without the means of discharging it." He saw that his retirement had become as necessary as his presence had been for the last ten years. Every defence of him by the proprietors was a direct offence to the Ministry, and so an injury to the prospects of the Company, whose affairs were being hotly debated in Parliament. On February 1, 1785, he gave up  
and returns  
to England, his office to the next member of Council, and returned to England for his reward. It was long in coming. Francis, implacable as ever, hounded on against him the furious tirades of Burke and the theatrical rhetoric of Sheridan; Pitt, for unknown reasons, abandoned him to his accusers. It seemed at one time as if the name of Warren Hastings would be no less a reproach to the ingratitude of Britain than the names of Labourdonnais and Dupleix are to France. But always the proprietors of the Company, the men who knew him, stood his friends; and every year brought back from the Empire he had saved men of all ranks and pro-

He is im-  
peached  
and tried  
(trial begins  
Feb. 13,  
1788),

fessions who knew; and who were not slow in proclaiming, how great his services had been. And from the day of his acquittal to the day of his death he enjoyed in peace the fame and honours which were no more than due to "the ablest Englishmen of the eighteenth century."\*

\* The opinion of Sir James Stephen.



## CHAPTER VI.

### AUSTRALIA.

#### A. *Early Discoveries.*

From the earliest ages there were rumours among the northern nations of a great southern continent that balanced Asia as Africa balances Europe, The myths of ancient geography. and not impossibly stretched itself below the Indian Ocean so as to make a greater Mediterranean in the eastern half of the known world. But the only sea-faring Asiatic nations whose records have come down to us lived in the north-western corner of that ocean: and as their powers of navigation were confined to following coast lines, and open-sea voyages were an unknown thing, they usually felt themselves quite far enough away from home when they reached Java and Borneo. In 1493, when the unexplored world was divided by the Pope between Spain and Portugal, this southern continent was still a dream of theoretical geographers.

Not for long now, however. The Portuguese were slow explorers, but persistent ones. In 1511 they The Pope's line crossed had reached New Guinea, and must in a short time after that have worked their way down the eastern coast of Australia as far as Cape

Howe. But in doing so they had passed the Pope's line, which had been for convenience sake extended into the waters of the Pacific, and by Portugal became there approximately the meridian of 144° E. The Spaniards, too, had begun to push westward from Peru, and in 1521 Magellan occupied the Philippines in their name, although this was and by Spain. an encroachment on the Portuguese sphere.

Consequently the Portuguese took special precautions to keep their southern discovery a secret: they not only refused, as all nations did in those days, to let any other nation see their maps, but they cleverly altered the maps themselves so The Portuguese conceal their trespass cleverly. as to bring the new coast-line into quite a wrong position within their own sphere, while leaving it possible for their own ships to use the altered maps with safety. And their scheme was so successful that for quite a hundred and fifty years no other explorers came where they had been.

It was not for want of trying. Time after time Spanish ships came blindly across the Pacific, lighting now upon the Solomon Islands, Discoveries of Mendana in 1568 and in 1595: now upon the Marquesas, at last upon the of de Quiros in 1606. New Hebrides: and from these in 1606 Torres took a fresh start towards the *Terra Australis* which was the aim of all this search. He missed it by the merest chance. He got among the islands which lie so thick between New Guinea and Cape York, and he was tired of islands; he had, in fact, just gained a reputation by proving that one of

the New Hebrides, rashly assumed by his former leader, de Quiros, to be part of *Terra Australis*, was an island after all: and he was determined not to be taken in himself by any more islands masquerading as continents. So though he worked down past Cape York into the shallows of the Barrier Reef, he never knew that the real continent was in front of him, but sailed away north-west through Torres Straits to add one more misconception to European ideas about Australia.

By this time the Dutch had occupied nearly the whole colonial empire of Portugal in the East Indies, and were working cautiously down from Java towards the same goal as Torres; and while he was sailing through straits which he thought were open ocean, a Dutch ship was carefully avoiding those same straits under the impression that they were dry land. Further and further the "Duyfhen" sailed into the Gulf of Carpentaria, in an attempt to round what seemed to be the southern point of New Guinea; and when the shallowing water made it turn back, it took home a report that New Guinea and *Terra Australis* were all one, and that future explorers must go south-west, as the eastern passage was blocked. So for the next ninety years ship after ship worked gradually down the west coast of Australia until the whole outline of it from Port Darwin to Spencer Gulf had been charted: and still the eastern and more colonizable dis-

Dutch exploration.

The *Duyfhen*, 1606.

Hartog, 1616.  
Edels, 1619.  
The *Leeuwin*, 1622.  
Pelsart, 1628.

tricts remained unknown. The boldest of the Dutch explorers, Tasman, had no better luck than 'Torres and the crew of the "Duyfhen." In 1642 he thrust his ship well down into the "roaring forties," and came full upon the west coast of Tasmania, round which he coasted for some way before continuing eastward to New Zealand: there, taking the wide western mouth of Cook's Strait for a bay (a mistake to which the Dutch seem to have been peculiarly prone), he followed up the curve of the North Island, struck across to Fiji, and so returned to Batavia round the north coast of New Guinea. Even so he had discovered two fertile lands that were well suited for settlement: but the fierceness of the Maoris and supposed gigantic size of the Tasmanian natives deterred him from exploration, while the Dutch authorities found work enough on their hands in developing their tropical colonies, and had no wish to open up new lands where other nations might settle. In 1644, however, they sent Tasman on one more attempt to find the passage between New Guinea and the "Great South Land": and this time he sailed straight across the western opening of Torres Strait, thinking that its reefs were the sure sign of continuous land behind them.

Tasman,  
1642.

Discovers  
Tasmania,  
Nov. 24,  
and New  
Zealand,  
Dec. 9.

Forty-four years later the first Englishman, William Dampier, set foot on Australian shores, coming down past Timor from the Moluccas. But his opinion of the country was anything

Dampier  
sights New  
Holland,  
Jan. 4, 1688.

but complimentary, coming as he did from lands of spice to a land of waterless sand: and as for the natives—"the Hodmadods\* of Monomatapa, though a nasty people, yet for wealth are gentlemen to these." Nevertheless, when he reached England he could not

rest till a ship (the "Roebuck") was given him to make further explorations in the new country. But the second view of it was no more appetizing than the first: he coasted Western Australia for nearly a thousand miles without result, and finally bore away northwards to the delightful tropical islands whose beauty and wealth were unquestioned.

The net result of all these voyages is rather curious. While at one point New Guinea was falsely supposed

to extend nearly ten degrees too far south, everywhere else the explorers had found themselves among islands. Also the older maps, demonstrably wrong (for those who did not possess the key to their distortion) in their northern outline of *Terra Australis*, yet agreed with theoretical geographers in marking a great continent stretching up from South Polar regions. Consequently it was now supposed that this last was the real South Land, and that over what we now know to be the mainland of Australia there was spread an assemblage of islands something like the Malay Archipelago. Accordingly when in 1768 Lieutenant James Cook was appointed to the ship "Endeavour," with instructions to take

\* Hottentots.

out to Tahiti a party of scientific men to observe the transit of Venus, he was further ordered on his way home to make search for this continent, of which it was thought probable that New Zealand was a northern promontory. By dint of sailing round and round the two islands he discovered their real nature and shape, and then set off westward to look into Tasman's other discovery. Keeping still well to the south, he all but ran into Tasmania (and if he had done that, it is quite possible that he would have simply followed back Tasman's track and missed Australia altogether); but a strong southern gale drove him out of the course he had set for himself, and brought him in sight of the continent's south-eastern corner. His mind was made up at once: he knew from Tasman's work that there was open sea not far south—the point that wanted clearing up was, “Is there mainland or island-studded sea to the north?” He turned northward at once to coast along this new shore till he could find a break in it. At Botany (which he called Sting-ray) Bay he anchored to explore the country: and there a clever botanist who was on board the “*Endeavour*,” Banks by name, reported that along George's River he had seen splendid pasture for cattle. Further and further north went the “*Endeavour*,” sometimes in great danger from the coral reefs of the Queensland coast, until Cook rounded Cape York and made certain that he was now at the end of this huge

Cook's first  
voyage,  
1768-1771.

The  
*Endeavour*  
off Point  
Hicks,  
Apr. 18, 1770;

in Botany  
Bay, Apr. 28-  
May 6.

The country  
annexed to  
Britain,  
Aug. 21. island, and could pass between it and New Guinea. Then, on August 21st, 1770, he landed on one of the Torres Strait islands, and formally took possession of the new land from one end to the other on behalf of Britain.

### *B. The Convict Settlement.*

Cook's discovery made at the moment a great stir in England; but scientific men were still hankering after that mysterious South Land, and when he came out again his time was spent in a futile search through the waters south of Tasmania. Then came the revolt of the American colonies, and Englishmen had quite enough to think about for some years without troubling themselves about strange lands twelve thousand miles off. But there was one result of the American war which brought men's minds back to England's latest acquisition. The English gaols were full to overflowing, and no one knew what to do with the surplus of prisoners.

Cook's  
second  
voyage,  
1773.  
War of  
American  
Independ-  
ence,  
1775-83. It was the Portuguese who first thought of utilizing their criminals to work in their colonies; but by the time of Charles I the English had adopted the idea pretty thoroughly. At first a convict, if sentenced to death, had his choice: he could either go to Virginia as an "indentured labourer," or he could stay in England and be hanged. But during the Civil War Charles shipped

The  
beginnings  
of trans-  
portation.

off some Roundheads willy-nilly ; Cromwell retaliated with shiploads of Cavaliers ; and from the reign of Charles II onward the practice was systematized and regulated by Acts of Parliament. At the outbreak of war the American colonies were disposing of about 500 convicts *per annum*, and the war of course stopped this outlet altogether : while the leaders of the philanthropic movement, which was just gathering head, roused the British public to a sense of the inhuman treatment dealt out to prisoners in their overcrowded gaols.

The Government was in a dilemma. The criminal law of those days was very severe, and every assize added a fresh batch of transportable convicts to the accumulating mass, while there was still no place fixed to which they might be transported. Parliament in 1779 discussed the question in connection with two proposals—one that they should be sent to the Gambia, the other (made by Banks) that Botany Bay should be utilized. The matter was left to the Ministry of the day, and for some time they were content to shelve it. But in August, 1783, a fresh proposal, quite separate from the convict problem, was made to the Government. This was for the establishment in New South Wales of a British colony on the old Carolinian\* lines : the aristocracy was to be formed of loyalists† who had been recently expelled from the now United States—the working class was to

Transporta-  
tion to  
America  
ceases.  
John  
Howard.

What is to  
be done  
with the  
convicts?

Matra's  
memorial  
for a free  
colony.

\* See p. 39.

† See p. 142.



be a mixture of Kanakas and Chinese, superintended by a few skilled Englishmen, preferably sailors\* from the ships that brought Australia its new population.

**Government protection was necessary, or the French (who had already been busy with explorations in the South Seas) might swoop down and annex the infant colony : and the price of Government support was the admission of convicts.**

The promoters agreed to this—and still the Ministry delayed. The promoters put their scheme before the public: but the Ministry wanted a place nearer home, and had surveys made all down the West African coast from Angola to the Cape—the Gambia scheme had been abandoned as too unhealthy. When at last the surveying ship returned with adverse reports, the long-delayed step was taken: and almost exactly sixteen years after Cook's annexation an Order-in-

**The Order-  
in-Council,  
Dec. 6, 1786.**

The Order-in-Council, Dec. 6, 1786. Council proclaimed that the new convict settlement would be at Botany Bay. Charles Townshend had lost us our American colonies: his brother, to repair the loss, occupied Australia.

It took nine months to get the expedition ready, and eight more to fetch it overseas to its new home. The commander in charge, Captain Arthur Phillip, had fought as a boy through the Seven Years' War, and made himself a gallant reputation in the succeeding war with France. He was now to show that

**The First  
Fleet sails,  
May 13, 1787.**

Arthur  
Phillip  
Governor,  
Jan. 1788 to  
Dec. 1792.

\* The press-gang forced plenty of young artisans and farmers to become sailors.

he could rule as well as he fought. The work before him was certainly unique. The convicts who went to America had been distributed among an already existing population of civilized settlers in a land where food was plentiful, where roads were made, where law reigned. In the new colony food must come twelve thousand miles until the work of unskilful hands dragged some from the none too fertile soil: outside the camp itself the country was unknown: law, such as it was, had to be enforced every moment at the point of the bayonet. Free settlers there were none: the Loyalist-Kanaka-Chinese scheme had disappeared, and not many free Englishmen were anxious to tempt fortune at the other end of the world in company with prisoners and their keepers. To so order things that in spite of these unsavoury surroundings the colony should nevertheless become a desirable place for free emigrants: to keep the settlement together till their advent, famine, drunkenness, and riots notwithstanding: this was Phillip's work, and in doing it so well he proved himself in the truest sense the founder of an Australian nation.

No sooner had he entered Botany Bay than its unfitness for the site of a settlement became very apparent. Four days after arriving he took boats round to the next inlet noticed by Phillip <sup>lands</sup> in Botany Bay, Cook, and was the first (of how many millions <sup>Jan. 18, 1788,</sup> since?) to describe Port Jackson as the "finest harbour in the world." A running stream falling

but transfers  
the settle-  
ment to  
Sydney  
Cove,  
Jan. 26. into deep water at the head of one of its  
bays decided him to fix the town there;  
the ships were brought round from Botany  
Bay to the newly named Sydney Cove, and  
on January 26th, 1788, formal possession was taken,  
the colony being proclaimed as such twelve days later.

Nominally it was a huge one. It ran from Cape  
York southerly to the extreme point of Tasmania,  
and its western boundary (135° E. long.)  
Boundaries  
of the new  
colony. included the whole coast of Carpentaria and  
nearly the whole of inhabitable South Aus-  
tralia. Eastwards the border was somewhat undefined.  
“All the *adjacent* islands,” said the proclamation,  
“within the same degrees of latitude”; and no one  
quite knows how far away *adjacent* islands can be.  
Governor King, at least, considered Tahiti as one of  
them, and appointed a magistrate there. But the  
expression was at a later date interpreted not to in-  
clude New Zealand. One island, luckily, it did  
include, to which Phillip at once sent a party of  
occupation. The native flax of Norfolk Island was  
already famous in England: and while Phillip hoped  
to make the settlement at Sydney supply its own food,  
he looked to the island for clothes.

It took some months to house the immigrants, and  
when at last they could turn their attention to raising  
crops the soil was found very poor. Banks’  
First  
difficulties. cattle pastures, which had told greatly in favour  
of New South Wales when the convict settlement ques-

tion came up, were nowhere to be found. The Home authorities had sent out a farming expert who did nothing but get drunk, and it was only by good luck that a reliable one was discovered in the person of the Governor's butler. The truth was that the whole scheme had been designed to get the surplus convicts somewhere well away from England, and every request for more food or fewer convicts, or for anything, indeed, which gave trouble at home, was looked upon as importunity to be discouraged. England was during the first years of Australian colonization in the thick of her most desperate struggle with France: what time had Ministers to spare, they asked, for details of farming and clothing in a settlement of vagabonds twelve thousand miles off? Phillip asked for intelligent farmers, and they sent him female convicts: Hunter persisted in the request, and he got all sorts of idle speculators. To get a mill erected, he had to apply to "an ingenious Irish convict," for the Government millwright knew nothing about his business.

Consequently famine for many years stared the settlers in the face. Supply-ships were wrecked or delayed: nearly all the cattle were lost within five months of landing,\* and out of <sup>Famines.</sup> 70 sheep 69 had died: from November, 1789, to July, 1792, the weekly rations were reduced to a minimum, and in the next year the trouble began again. Norfolk

\* They were discovered six years later in the Camden district, a much increased herd, and were strictly protected as State property

Island, only saved in 1790 by the sudden arrival of flocks of mutton-birds, soon became the granary of the colony. At Rosehill and Prospect Phillip marked out some fifty-acre farms, and retired Marines (from the military guard of the First Fleet) took up land in the Field of Mars: in 1794 the Hawkesbury valley was settled, and by 1801 attempts were being made to grow cotton at Castle Hill and vines at Parramatta. But of all these districts only the Hawkesbury farms were really fertile, and they suffered badly from floods. Even as late as 1807 New South Wales was half starved, and had to look for help to supplies of rice from China.

One can imagine how eagerly men in these straits would explore the unknown lands that closely encircled them, in the hope of finding richer soil and ampler pasturage. One's imagination would, unfortunately, be at fault. During the early years inland exploration was practically at a standstill. Phillip in four years got no further west than the Hawkesbury; Hunter penetrated south-west a little beyond the Nepean. But for twenty years the settlement was a convict settlement and nothing more—or if more, then more only in spite of its rulers. The Governors were naval men, put in office as good disciplinarians, and afraid to enlarge the bounds of their jurisdiction too much lest their subjects should get out of hand. When a convict in 1799 came back to Sydney with stories of a pass through the mountains to the south-west and a large

river beyond, his tale was pooh-poohed. Just before this the same governor had discouraged a proposal made by Sir Joseph Banks to send out the great African explorer, Mungo Park. Hunter, with grim humour, despatched two parties of convicts north and south into the bush—to convince them that running away into such poor country was useless. The Blue Mountain barrier, only thirty miles from headquarters, was attacked time and again by private enterprise without result. In 1810 the colony was still practically limited to the county of Cumberland, with a penal settlement on the Hunter, and a few distant dependencies that could only be reached by sea.

In that direction the escape of convicts could be controlled, and the naval governors were not averse to encouraging men of their own profession. From 1797 onwards exploration along the coasts became very important. That year saw the <sup>encouraged along the coast.</sup> discovery of the Hunter estuary to the north, and the daring southward voyage of Bass in an open boat, which assured him that there was a channel between Tasmania and the mainland. Flinders, an old comrade of his, had meanwhile been surveying carefully the coast nearer Sydney; and in 1798 the two set off for a voyage right through Bass' Strait, noting on their way the estuary of the Tamar, worked down the west coast of Tasmania, surveyed the bays where Hobart now lies, and returned triumphantly with the news that soon gave Britain a new colony. A year later Flinders (for Bass now drops out of

Australian history) explored the southern Queensland coast and the river on which Brisbane lies : but for the moment his most valued discovery was that whales were to be found along that coast, just as the year before it had been the seal fisheries of Bass' Straits. However, in a few years the situation changed : Napoleon had taken advantage of the Peace of Amiens to send out an exploring expedition under

Baudin's  
expedition,  
1802.

Admiral Baudin, and Governor King found it advisable to occupy beforehand such likely colony-sites as were known. He therefore in 1803 arranged for the despatch of a party to Port Phillip, which had been discovered in 1800 : but Collins, who was in command of it, saw no possibilities in those low-lying shores, and yearned after the delightful variety of the neighbour island, where another party had already occupied the Derwent mouth. So the next year he abandoned Port Phillip altogether and moved to the Derwent, where he established the settlement of Hobart Town. The northern river, the Tamar, was at the same time occupied by Paterson, and two years later a permanent settlement was made at Launceston : the two towns were soon connected by a well-made road, and a large body of the settlers from Norfolk Island, which King had wished to abandon, were added to the Tasmanian population.\* The rest, one may note here, were sent to farms along the lower Hunter.

\* New Norfolk was one of their settlements.

C. *The New South Wales Corps.*

In a colony of so peculiar a character discipline was the first requisite. The home authorities therefore resolved to raise a new regiment for special service in New South Wales, and entrusted the task to Major Grose, who had experience in recruiting work. The arrangement was one not unusual in those days—Grose nominated the officers and received so much a head from Government for each private—the circumstances made it an ideally bad arrangement. England was palpitating with the hope of another French war; this regiment was to be cut off from all such fighting, and to be sent across half the world to do gaolers' work. The officers who entered it, mostly transferred from other regiments, wanted profit rather than glory; for the romance of Indian treasure was still fresh in men's minds, and it was not convicts only whose ignorance of geography made China a near neighbour. As for the privates, Governor Hunter found among them men who had been disgraces to every other British regiment—and we know from the Duke of Wellington what material was used in those days to make up even his best troops. Not all the officers, of course, were hucksters, nor were all the privates blackguards; but in such surroundings as were theirs the worst element comes to the top, and the *corps* takes rank by its lowest members.

The New  
South  
Wales  
Corps.



From its first arrival the new regiment was a thorn in the side of governor after governor.

It reaches  
Sydney in  
1790.

Grose complained that his soldiers had no better food than the convicts. "Nor have I," said Phillip, who was determined to favour no man in time of famine. The soldiers consorted with the men they had to guard, and roused more disturbances than they quelled.

Grose  
Acting-  
Governor,  
Dec., 1792, to  
Dec., 1794.

Paterson  
A.-G., Dec.,  
1794, to  
Sept., 1795.

When Phillip left\* Grose became Acting Governor, and at once removed all the restrictions which his wiser predecessor had placed on the sale of livestock by the poorer farmers. The officers had almost all the money then in the colony, and in a very short time they had formed a "Ring" which gave them complete control of trade; they fixed the price as well of imported goods as of the colony's produce, and at last drove King to debar them absolutely from all commercial pursuits. But this speculation in legitimate objects of trade was a mild evil compared to their traffic in liquor. The first settlers got food and clothing from headquarters; spirits came to them through private and generally illegal agencies. At one time two officers had 4,400 gallons of rum in store, and grumbled at disposing of them for £1 a gallon. The establishment of the traffic must be charged against Grose's governorship.

Rum  
selling.

\* The home authorities delayed the appointment of a successor in hopes that Phillip could be induced to return.

and both Hunter and King failed in their efforts to put it down, although they received all possible support from home. It was not only against the imported spirits that they had to contend. The farmers soon found that their wheat would bring three times the money when distilled that it would fetch as grain; and the edicts against private stills were even more severe and less effective than those against military rum-selling.

Among the officers of this unruly Corps one has attained peculiar distinction. Captain John Macarthur was the *bête noir* of two <sup>Hunter Governor, Sept., 1795, to Sept., 1800.</sup> governors and the triumphant enemy of <sup>King Governor, Sept., 1800, to Aug., 1806.</sup> John Macarthur. a third; his insubordination was only equalled by his cleverness in thwarting every effort to punish him. Yet these mischievous qualities have been forgiven—nay, even looked upon as virtues—by a people for whom he is the founder of the greatest industry in New South Wales. His quick eye saw from the first that the <sup>the first of the sheep-breeders.</sup> country was one for large estates and pastoral pursuits, and his quick temper could not brook the difficulties which more cautious disciplinarians put in his way. When Hunter would not give him room for the big sheep farm he wanted,\* he went to England and memorialized

\* One can hardly wonder at it: at the time he had 1,300 acres, with £4,000 worth of stock—a monster estate among the pigmies of that day.

the Government till he obtained a grant of 5,000 acres. Then he came back triumphantly, having resigned his commission to turn pastoralist, and chose his land in what was known as the Cow-pastures, a district across the Nepean which had been strictly reserved by the authorities for the herd of State cattle. There and nowhere else within the confines of the settlement had he found pasture-land fit for the Spanish sheep which he had been the first to introduce; and it was this Spanish merino breed, jealously guarded in Spain, but found in small numbers at the Cape (where the Boer farmers thought poorly of it beside their own big fat-tailed flocks), on which he depended to make the colonial wool trade a lasting success.

After much demur King, who sympathized a little with his projects, allotted him a portion of the jealously guarded reserve; but his succes-

Bligh  
unsympa-  
thetic.

sor, Bligh, was by no means of the same mind. He was a man of some experience

in mutinies, and came out with a determination to put down with a strong hand the men

Bligh  
Governor,  
Aug., 1806,  
to Jan., 1808.

who had ousted Hunter and driven King to resignation. The rum traffic must go;

if necessary, the officers who supported it must be crushed; and Macarthur was in Bligh's eyes the leading villain of the band. He happened just then to be interested in wine-making, and imported a still for producing grape brandy; Bligh suspected (quite unnecessarily) that it was intended

for rum-making, and confiscated it. Then a minor offence brought Macarthur under the jurisdiction of the Judge Advocate, an enemy of eleven years' standing. Macarthur appealed to his former comrades of the New South Wales Corps; but Bligh would listen to no compromise and appoint no substitute judge. Major Johnstone, who as commander of the regiment was *ex officio* Lieutenant Governor, at once arrested <sup>The Bligh mutiny, Jan. 26, 1808.</sup> Bligh and all the civil officials; new magistrates were appointed, Macarthur was acquitted without trouble, and Bligh was imprisoned for a year and at last sent home.\*

The triumph of the Corps was short. The English Government had been persuaded into deposing Governors, but would not stand <sup>The Corps abolished.</sup> bullying; and it replied to the violence of the insurgents by formally reinstating Bligh, cashiering Johnstone, and recalling the troublesome regiment to scenes of greater danger and less profit. Macarthur was sent home, and not allowed to return to the colony for eight years.

#### D. *The Beginnings of Freedom.*

It was a pity, for the new governor was a man to his mind. The real importance of the Bligh rebellion is this, that it caused a complete revolution in the treatment of the colony. Lachlan

\* He did not go all the way, but waited in Tasmania for reinstatement.

Lachlan Macquarie Governor, Jan., 1810, to Dec., 1821. Macquarie, in some respects not unlike Bligh, was the first of a long line of real colonizers. His predecessors had opposed

expansion because they were there to look after the convicts; Macquarie stimulated it in every possible way because he looked upon himself as a governor of free men—at the worst, of men who soon would be free and should be helped to keep their freedom. New South Wales might be an ugly duckling, but he at least foresaw the future swan. He looked after his prisoners sharply, and gave them plenty of work on public buildings and (what was still more urgently needed) main roads. Internal exploration, which had been languishing

The Blue Mountains crossed, May and June, 1813. since Hunter's time, was again pushed on. Gregory Blaxland thought out a plan of surmounting the hitherto impregnable Blue Mountains; every attempt to cross them European-fashion, by the valleys, had been blocked with huge precipices—he determined to try the ridges, keeping as high as possible all the time along the water-parting between two of the streams. With Lawson, young Wentworth, and four men, he pushed through a wild and barren land for seventeen days, cutting every afternoon the track along which his horses would travel the next morning; on May 28, 1813, he had crossed the range into good grass country, only fifty miles beyond what had been for so long the barrier of a half-starved settlement. Macquarie hailed the

returned explorers with delight and gratitude, and sent one of the Government surveyors to complete their work; and in less than two years from Blaxland's adventure a road had been made through to the western plains, and the town of Bathurst founded as a nucleus for the newly added province.

Surveyor  
Evans  
explores the  
Bathurst  
Plains.

Bathurst  
founded,  
1815.

This success gave a great stimulus to the long-neglected work of inland discovery. Evans during his journey had discovered two fair-sized streams running westward, to which he gave the Governor's names, Lachlan and Macquarie. In 1817 the Surveyor-General, Oxley, headed an expedition to follow the first-named of these rivers to the sea; but he had hit on a wet season, and found nothing but swamps all the way down its course. Just when a day's journey further would have brought him to its junction with the Murrumbidgee, he lost heart and turned away northwards to find the Macquarie, which where he struck it was running through much more cheerful country: but when he took a second expedition along its course the next year, it vanished as the Lachlan had done in impassable morasses. He therefore determined to strike due eastward, so crossing the Liverpool Plains and the rivers which he named after Lord Castlereagh and Sir Robert Peel; and coming over the dividing range upon the head of the

Oxley's ex-  
peditions

down the  
Lachlan,  
1817,

and the  
Macquarie,  
1817-8.

Hastings, clambered down with great difficulty into its valley and back by Port Macquarie and the coast route to Port Stephens. Meanwhile Hamilton

Hume opens up the Berrima and Goulburn districts. Hume, who in 1814 had penetrated the hills south of Camden as far as Berrima, was pushing his explorations past Goulburn to Lake George : and adventurous settlers

did steady pioneer work further and further south, till rumours came up to Sydney of the great

Rumours of the Monaro plains. knotted chain of Kosciusko and its daughter streams that we know as the

Snowy, the Upper Murray, and the Upper Murrumbidgee.

While Macquarie rejoiced in discoveries which at last made a colony of free settlers possible, he

Macquarie's internal reforms. was none the less anxious to make the best of the material he had in hand. In previous years convicts had been assigned

rather promiscuously to all employers who took the trouble to ask for them, and this had relaxed discipline unduly : Government officials, moreover,

had procured their own and their assigned servants' supplies from the public stores free of cost. Mac-

quarie withdrew a great many convicts from undesirable private employment, and stopped the whole system of allowances to Government officials.

The rum-sellers he endeavoured to fight by well-meant but somewhat unfortunate strategy : he contracted with three prominent men to build a

hospital\* on condition that they should have the monopoly of spirit-selling in the colony, and so hoped to gain surer control over the rum-traffic and to enlist the biggest offenders themselves in the work of putting down illicit sales.

The Rum  
Hospital.

The emancipist problem, however, was the one in which he took most interest. There was now a large number of men in the colony who had served their time as convicts and become free again. Many of them had been sentenced on political charges, or others which would not nowadays imply disgrace; and Macquarie saw no reason why they should not again take their place in a free society. The non-convict settlers with whom he came in contact belonged largely to the clique of the anti-Bligh mutineers: he felt it wise, therefore, to build up around himself a class of colonists who would be his firm and grateful friends, especially as he was thus carrying out the very purpose for which the colony had been founded. But the freemen would have nothing to do with the freedmen. The older magistrates declined to sit on the bench with the Governor's nominees: the first judge of the newly founded Supreme Court would not let emancipists practice before him, and the second tried to deprive

The Eman-  
cipists.

Opposition  
of Marsden,  
Bent,  
and Barron-  
Field.

\* Now Parliament Buildings.



them for life of the ordinary rights of citizens. Macquarie fought hard for his favourites, and for some years kept the support of the Home Government, for indeed his policy was the right one; but the hard fighter is often driven to put himself in the wrong, and a vain man like Macquarie is especially likely to do injudicious and extravagant things. The official class was still influential at

Mr. Commissioner  
Bigge.

home; a commissioner was sent out in 1818 to make a general investigation into colonial affairs; and on the receipt of his report it was thought wiser, without exactly censuring the Governor, to recall him and entrust the series of recommended reforms to the milder

What  
Macquarie  
accom-  
plished.

methods of Sir Thomas Brisbane. But Macquarie had no reason to be ashamed of his work. He had turned a gaol into a colony, and changed many a sullen convict into a sober and prosperous citizen; schools and churches, flood-prevention and road-making, practically date from his governorship; and it was directly owing to his stimulating zeal that year by year the patriarchs of inland Australia were journeying south and west past Goulburn and Bathurst, driving before them those ever-increasing flocks which have since built up the wealth of the Great South Land.

The rule of his successor—of the next three governors, indeed—was still disturbed by the

bitter conflict between emancipists and "exclusives." Brisbane, Darling, and Bourke alike arrived in the colony with an earnest desire to govern impartially and to keep the peace between the two sections; each was sooner or later drawn into the quarrel, and each owed to it his recall or resignation. From Brisbane's time onwards the "exclusive" party put itself more and more in the wrong. It had from the first been a combination of men who belonged to or sided with the old N.S.W. Corps, although claiming to represent all the free men of the colony; but when after Brisbane's arrival a steadily rising stream of free immigrants swelled the population, it was found that the new-comers sided mostly with the emancipists. Indeed, the name ceased to be a correct one for the party out of power, and was only retained by its official opponents to prejudice its cause in the eyes of the home Parliament. With the often sordid details of this long dispute we cannot here deal; but we must understand clearly that through the years from 1820 to 1850 New South Wales was passing through the same crisis that Upper Canada had seen in its struggle against the Family Compact,\*—with this disadvantage, that while Canada was able to voice its grievances through a representative assembly, the

Brisbane  
Governor,  
1821-4;  
Darling,  
1825-31;  
Bourke,  
1831-7.

The Emancipist  
problem  
becomes  
knottier.

Steady  
immigration  
begins, 1822.

\* See p. 157.

Liberals of New South Wales had until 1842 no method whatever outside the columns of two small newspapers by which they could protest against the exclusionist attempt to set up a Venetian oligarchy in Eastern Australia.

There was, of course, a certain amount of constitutional reform. Now that the Governor ruled a colony, not a prison, his absolute power must in some way be curtailed. Brisbane, as a first step, was given a council of Crown nominees purely to advise him: if he disregarded their advice the matter was to be settled at home. The Supreme Court, hitherto a one-man affair working after the pattern of English Equity Courts,\* was remodelled to allow of a trial by jury in civil cases (although criminal cases were still left in the Supreme Court to a jury of seven military men): and Judge Forbes, the first Chief Justice of the colony, earned the bitter hatred of the exclusionists by introducing juries of civilians in criminal matters into the smaller country courts, where the Act allowed it. The amending Act of 1828, in fact, cancelled the judge's reform, and reëstablished military juries everywhere in criminal cases—a measure less retrogressive in practice than in theory, since the officials had already taken good care that no emancipist's name should

\* Of which it had been said that the standard was "the length of the Chancellor's foot."

appear on the jury list. The same Act  
Constitution of 1828. enlarged the nominee Council so that it  
 should contain a majority of non-official members,  
 gave it a restricted power of law-making, and put  
 under its control the whole of the revenue from  
 Customs; and by a later section imported into  
 Australia the whole system of the English Common  
 Law. Immigration, which was soon aided by  
 Government contributions, more and more swamped  
 the convict and emancipist (properly so called)  
 element with the flood of settlers and artisans.  
 Wentworth, the youngest of the Blue  
 Mountain explorers, headed the Liberal  
 Party in an agitation for a more popular  
 form of Government; the old cry of "no  
 taxation without representation" was heard for  
 the first time south of the Equator; Bourke, the  
 most clear-headed and unimpassioned of our early  
 Governors, pronounced definitely against the  
 exclusionist policy; and in 1842 Parliament saw  
 its way to advance New South Wales  
 one step in Colonial grade, and gave it a  
 single Legislative Council with twelve nominees  
 and twenty-four elected members.

Wentworth  
 and 'The  
*Austra-  
 lian*'  
 newspaper.

Constitution  
 of 1842.

Meanwhile the shape of the actual settlement  
 was vastly altered. The "Cumberland  
 County *plus* Newcastle" colony of Bligh's  
 time had been given by Macquarie an outlet  
 over the western mountains, and the first fruits  
 o. the immigration under Brisbane were thriving

Territorial  
 expansion.

communities round Goulburn and Bathurst, and in the valleys of the Upper Nepean and the Hunter. Oxley's discovery of the Liverpool Plains was comparatively useless, owing to his roundabout way of reaching them, until Cunningham found a road through the Pandora Pass; but Port Macquarie was used for a convict settlement, until it struck the Governor as a place too good

Moreton  
Bay  
explored,  
1823.

to be wasted on convicts, and the expedition sent out to find a substitute recommended one on the banks of the Brisbane River some twenty miles above Moreton Bay. Three years later Cunningham pushed northwards

Cunning-  
ham's  
expedition  
of 1827.

past the Peel, across the Dumaresq, and discovered the Darling Downs; and so on opposite sides of a difficult range Queensland began to live a double life—a convict settlement on the coast, an inland territory of noble sheep pastures.

What Cunningham was doing for the northern country Hume did on the south, and Sturt and Mitchell on the west. Hume, with an

Hume and  
Hovell's  
expedition,  
1824.

old sea-captain, Hovell, for his mate, struck south-west from the Goulburn Plains across the Murrumbidgee and the tangle of ravines among which it rises, found and with some difficulty forded the Murray where it runs strongly between noble hills, and traversed the north-eastern plain of Victoria to the Dividing Range not many miles from where Melbourne



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JOURNAL  
OF THE  
ROYAL ANTHROPOLOGICAL INSTITUTE



now stands. But there bush fires drove him westwards, and for some days concealed the expanse of Port Phillip from his view ; so that when at last the great bay was reached near the present Geelong a dispute arose between the comrades whether it was Port Phillip or Westernport they saw. They returned full of good news—to find that even exploration was to be dragged into the exclusionist feud, and all their work must be officially ignored because they had done it as a private enterprise and not under orders from the Surveyor-General.

Sturt was luckier, and set out with full credentials to solve Oxley's mystery of the Macquarie marshes. This time a drought held the land, and the river had disappeared altogether ; but in a vain search for it Sturt lit on the Darling, which puzzled him considerably by being a river of salt water. A year or two later he achieved a more daring and more important exploit. Oxley had looked upon the Brisbane River as the possible outlet of the Peel-Castlereagh-Macquarie river-system ; Cunningham imagined the Darling as flowing overland north-west to the Arafura sea ; Hovell alone, putting together his sea-knowledge of the South Australian coast and the experiences of his journey with Hume, prophesied a river-system discharging into Encounter Bay. Sturt was now sent to verify this prediction. He struck the Murrumbidgee

Sturt  
discovers  
the Darling,  
1826.

Sturt on the  
Lower  
Murray,  
1829-30.



above Gundagai, and followed it along to the swampy country; then, embarking in a whale boat, floated down past the mouth of the Lachlan, shot into the broad strong current of the Murray, explored, but could not ascend, the junction of the Darling, and after thirty-three days found himself in a wide shallow lake cut off by shoals and sand-ridges from the open ocean. A ship was to have met the expedition, but it was sent somewhere up St. Vincent's Gulf; the whole journey had to be retraced against the stream with scant provisions and failing strength: and when after desperate struggles the explorers again reached Sydney, some were decrepit, some scarcely sane, and Sturt himself became quite blind.

One more expedition was needed to make clear the general shape of Australia's south-eastern corner, which holds to-day three-quarters of the total Australian population. In 1836 the then Surveyor-General, Sir Thomas Mitchell, determined to complete and connect the explorations of Oxley, Hume, and Sturt. Starting by Oxley's Lachlan route, he traced that river to the Murrumbidgee and so into the Murray: he explored the Darling far enough north to make sure that it was Sturt's river of 1826, and the Murray far enough east to identify it with Hume's river of 1824: then, striking south-west across the Wimmera district, he climbed the Grampians and drifted down the Glenelg to its

Mitchell in  
the Wim-  
mera, Port-  
land, and  
Macedon  
districts.

mouth. An eastward turn brought him unexpectedly in sight of white men's settlements, where the Tasmanian Hentys, pioneers of Victorian prosperity, had started a farm and a whaling depôt on the shores of Portland Bay. The Henty settlement at Portland Bay. Mitchell's return journey led him along the Dividing Range, within view almost of the still untrodden goldfields of Ballarat, till from Mount Macedon, where nowadays we faintly see the blurring smoke of Melbourne, he watched green waves of park-like plain spread southward forty miles to meet the still bright wavelets of the great bay, and his military soul was stirred to poetry as his diary recorded the name of *Australia Felix*.

All this exploration brought settlement in its train—not so much the steady permanent agricultural settlement which establishes a body The squatters. of yeomen on the soil, cultivating their own farms, as a roving occupation of large undefined districts by “squatters,” men who pushed out one beyond the other into the unknown midlands wherever water and grass could tempt their sheep. In and about the “settled” districts—Goulburn, Bathurst, Mudgee, and the Hunter River valley—the exclusionists and their friends secured big grants of fertile country; but beyond these stretched a vast area of grazing land that no one owned, because it was worth no one's while to buy it at any price which the home government would take. This was the squatters' domain,

claimed at first as their own by mere right of occupation : but when the authorities gave reality in Australia to that fiction of English law by which all land within the Crown's dominion is the Crown's property unless it has been explicitly granted away by deed, the squatters accepted the decision and stayed tranquilly where they were, sure that no one was going to take much trouble about disturbing them. The Colonial Office at home

Land  
Regulations  
of 1824

made various regulations, first proposing to survey in blocks and value the whole territory of the colony before allowing settlement, then insisting on sales by public auction with a minimum of five shillings an acre ;\*

and 1831.

but Governor Darling ignored the first rule and refused to put the second into practice outside the settled districts.† Bourke's common sense found

Bourke  
creates  
" Pastoral  
Districts,"  
1836.

a way out of the difficulty by treating the squatter as a trespasser on Crown lands, and giving him a licence to go on trespassing till further orders—a system which

at least legalized the situation and brought in a small revenue from licence fees. And presently a division of the cumbrous area of the

Land  
Regulations  
of 1840.

colony into three land districts—Moreton Bay, Sydney, and Port Phillip—heralded, and was at once understood to herald, the severance of two new colonies from their unwieldy

\* Raised to £1 an acre in 1842.

† See map.

parent. It is wise, therefore, to go back on our tracks for a while and watch the growth of these offshoots which were to be Victoria and Queensland.

*E. The Daughter Colonies.*

One child had already left the parent's apron-strings. The year 1804 had seen Tasmania colonized at both ends, and in 1812 the northern settlement of Launceston passed under the control of the Lieutenant-Governor at Hobart. Macquarie, eager for the prosperity of every part of his kingdom, found time to visit the little southern island and plan roads and schools and townships for its advancement. Davey's government was a coarse practical joke, but in spite of it a little progress was made: though four years of Sorell, the sworn enemy of bush-rangers, doubled the colony's population. Then came Colonel Arthur, a ruler of much experience from British Honduras, who was afterwards to bring Ontario safe out of the Mackenzie revolt.\* Freed by the Act of 1823 from any but a nominal dependency on New South Wales, he set before himself a very clear idea of what he wanted the island to be. It was already a receptacle for many of the worst convicts, those who had committed fresh

Tasmania.  
Governor  
Collins,  
1804-10.

Governor  
Davey,  
1813-17.

Governor  
Sorell,  
1817-23.

Governor  
Arthur,  
1823-36.

His  
policy.

\* See p. 160.

crimes since their transportation : he determined to make his rule a terror to these evildoers, while the more hopeful characters should find Tasmania their home. Sorell's penal settlement at Macquarie Harbour, previously  
Macquarie Harbour, 1821. an Inferno without one redeeming feature, was reorganized with that view ; and when its isolation was some years later broken in upon by the approach of free settlements on the land side, Tasman's Peninsula was chosen as a substitute, and an establishment built on its  
Port Arthur, 1832. southern inlet, whose rigid discipline and attempts at scientific system in punishment made criminals shudder at the name of Port Arthur. But in such an island as Arthur dreamt of there was no room for free settlers, who were indeed told many years later that they were only there on sufferance and must not expect much consideration. Consequently the Governor was constantly at loggerheads with his subjects, and his ability did not produce results worthy of it.

It was in his time that the Black War took place. The aborigines of Australia have not hitherto been mentioned because, although  
The Australian aboriginal. the settlers had been in contact with them from the moment of Phillip's landing, yet their presence had practically no effect on the colonization of the country. They are a race (or races, for their origin and relationship are still obscure) of small communities, kingless, and

lacking in the power to combine against an enemy; and their white supplanters, while never free from isolated (and sometimes unprovoked) raids, have found their progress quite unretarded by any serious and determined opposition. But

in Tasmania the case was different; the island was too small and its fertile belt

<sup>The</sup> Tasmanian  
aboriginal.

too narrow to leave room for white man and blackfellow side by side; and while the intruders were often escaped or assigned convicts whose cruelty the blackfellow ascribed to all white men alike, the natives were of a fiercer and more crafty type than their cousins of the mainland. For years each race vied with the other in brutality, in spite of the best efforts of governor after governor. At last Arthur decided

to have done with the trouble once for

<sup>The Black</sup> War, 1830.

all. The natives were to be driven, as one drives kangaroos, by a line of two thousand beaters advancing from the north coast towards the neck of Tasman's Peninsula; but after two months of marching and £30,000 of expense the *battue* resulted in the capture of one man and a boy. Things were looking worse than ever when an ex-bricklayer, George Robinson, who had already succeeded well with a settlement of blackfellows on Bruni Island, offered to collect the others by mere persuasiveness and induce them to consent to emigrate. In five years he had got together nearly all that remained, and they were shipped to

Flinders Island in Bass' Straits, where they dwindled and died of a curious home-sickness.

Of constitutional history Tasmania in those days had little. The home government gave it about as much liberty as New South Wales, and the Tasmanians imitated their northern fellow colonists with great fidelity in agitating for more ; but there was no emancipist question, because the official exclusionist class was not strong enough to raise it.

Sir John Franklin, Arthur's successor, was even oftener in hot water than Arthur: his rule was an attempt to run the iron system on soft-heartedness, and the result was somewhat chaotic. In his time, though, the island found itself the home of learning. Arnold of Rugby controlled its education, Darwin and Hooker and many of less fame in science made extensive research within its borders. Yet, when all was said and done, convicts remained the *raison d'être* of the colony: when transportation to New South Wales ceased, the inflow to Tasmania was doubled: and when representative governments were set up on the mainland in 1842, Tasmania could not share the boon because the majority of her population was bond.

Through some unaccountable ill-luck it took Australian settlers thirty years to discover the

Governor  
Franklin.  
1836-42.

advantages of Port Phillip. Collins had camped there in 1803, and abandoned his camp; Hume saw it in 1824, but the settlers who were to have followed him the year after camped on Westernport instead and gave the job up in disgust. At last in 1834 the Hentys settled in Portland Bay, where Mitchell discovered them two years later; and the report of their success so stimulated Tasmanian enterprise that in 1835 two parties, under the squatter Batman\* and the trader Fawcner respectively, entered Port Phillip and quarrelled over the site of Melbourne. Batman, however, had got only some worthless title-deeds from the native tribes, while Fawcner's men had wisely camped on the ground they claimed; so Batman devoted himself mainly to his first-occupied lands at Geelong, and in a few years saw settlement extending from it westward to the lakes and noble pastures of Colac. The authorities in Sydney and London vainly proclaimed that the adventurers were trespassing on Crown lands—the stream of colonists was not to be dammed back, and within a year Bourke found himself compelled to acknowledge facts and to organize the Port Phillip district as a detached part of New South Wales.

Victoria.

The Hentys  
at Portland.First settle-  
ments at  
Melbourneand  
Geelong.Bourke's  
proclama-  
tion,  
Sept., 1836

\* Batman had already distinguished himself in Tasmania both during the Black War and by his capture of the bushranger Brady.



Melbourne was formally founded in 1837; and when the Act of 1842 came into force, Port Phillip found itself entitled to six out of the twenty-four elected members in the new Legislative Council.

Of the third daughter, known later on as Queensland, there is little to be said at this stage.

Queensland. The Moreton Bay penal establishment

blocked for many years all settlement on the coast. Behind the dividing range, however, a pastoral population was rapidly occupying the Darling Downs and spreading north and west into the domain of fiercer and more numerous tribes of blackfellows than had yet been met with on the continent. All these stations depended on Sydney or Newcastle for their supplies, and live stock trailed south and drays lumbered north for years along the weary routes by Walcha or the Pandora Pass; but in 1840 a practicable pass was found below Toowoomba to the coast, and the abolition of transportation freed Brisbane from its convicts and gave the two districts a chance to amalgamate their interests. Organized government followed immediately, and in 1843 Moreton Bay sent its elected representatives to the Council at Sydney.

#### *F. Other Australasian Settlements.*

It must not be imagined that Britain had claimed a whole continent for herself without exciting any

jealousy among the other European powers.

We have already seen expeditions sent out by Napoleon to explore and annex the southern (now Victorian) coast : and when ten years of peace had given France time to recover from her exhaustion after Waterloo, rumours of a new annexing expedition became frequent. Some said Port Phillip would again be the goal, and the abortive colony of 1826 was an attempt to forestall the invaders : but it was more likely that a spot would be chosen beyond the proclaimed bounds of New South Wales, so that there should be no technical ground of complaint against France for occupying British territory.\* It became, therefore, at once important to secure our hold on the western half of Australia, by at least seizing a bay here and there along its extended coast-line to make a nucleus for inland settlement. Already Melville Island and Port Essington had been temporarily occupied, partly with the hope of opening up a Malay trade, partly because Cunningham's theory of the Darling brought it to the ocean in those waters : in 1826 a more lasting settlement was formed at King George's Sound, where the whale fisheries kept alive a township that the barren lands at its back would otherwise certainly have starved. The next year Captain Stirling, sent to survey the intermediate coast-line, found

French  
designs on  
Australia.

Melville  
Island  
occupied by  
Britain.

Station at  
King  
George's  
Sound.

\* This was before Lord John Russell's declaration.

delightful-looking country on the Swan River, and his report stirred enthusiasts at home to try a new experiment in colonization. There was to be no Government aid except in the matter of land grants: but every £3 worth of goods (it did not particularly matter *what* goods) gave the immigrant forty acres of land, provided that five immigrants out of every eleven should be females—a curious little bit of theoretical colony-making. Unfortunately Stirling's distant view of the country had been altogether too rosy, and the soil was found to be poor and dotted over with poisonous shrubs: while a regulation which gave first choice of land to the men with the biggest claim surrounded the infant town of Perth with large speculative estates, and sent the working farmers to look for their smaller areas in the undefined and unknown interior.

Very slowly the colony began to grow. Real settlement spread back along the Swan River, and townships began to spring up. The station at Albany was taken over from New South Wales, although many years elapsed before overland communication was established with it. Half-way along the intermediate coast-line a new settlement was made by a company at Australind, on the northern edge of Geographe Bay; though other immigration ceased, this gave room for slower and more natural expansion in a land unfit to nurture crowds. But in 1846 the Legislative

Council took a bold step and asked the Home Government for convicts. They got all they wanted; first reformatory boys, then ticket-of-leave men, then the regular brand of convict, with an accompanying stream of money for the new-comers' support. The farmers gained at once a cheap labour supply and a market eager for their produce; and with their prosperity the whole country leapt into new life. A timber trade, a trade in horses for India, pearl fisheries, and mines were opened up in a very few years, and so greatly did the settlers benefit, that, in spite of the many drawbacks of a convict population, they fought hard against a later decision of the Home authorities to abolish transportation, and were only consoled by receiving in 1870 a limited self-government of the type which the eastern colonies had gained in 1842.

West Aus-  
tralia gets  
convicts,  
1849.

Transporta-  
tion to W.A.  
abolished,  
1865.

Far more interesting and (thanks to Sir George Grey) more successful was the Wakefield experiment in South Australia. Sturt's report on the lower Murray basin, and a later survey by Captain Barker, set people in England thinking of settlement in that part of the continent: and Edward Gibbon Wakefield formulated a scheme for an aristocratic colony, where rich men should buy the land at high prices for cash, and poor men should be brought out as

South  
Australia.

The  
Wakefield  
scheme.

labourers with the proceeds of the land sales. Parliament appointed the promoters of this scheme a "Colonization Commission," and insisted that whole families should be sent out together where possible, that all land in the colony should be sold for the same price at any given moment, and that neither convicts nor any other form of Government support should be given. On this experimental basis the new colony was an utter failure.

*Its first trial  
a failure.*

The rich emigrants arrived first, found bush life not to their liking, and settled down glumly to speculate in Adelaide town-lots; the labourers, when they arrived, found no one to employ them and had not the money to pay for high-priced land themselves. The

*Governor  
Hindmarsh,  
1836-8.*

Governor and the Resident Commissioner, one representing the Crown and the other the promoters, quarrelled violently and without ceasing. Gawler, who was sent out to supersede them both, had no ideas beyond starting relief works; but when his

*Governor  
Gawler,  
1838-41.*

own private fortune was exhausted in this way, the home Government (after advancing £155,000) insisted on its original contract and refused to pay the accounts he had run up. For a short time the colony was bankrupt.

Such a state of affairs brought about its own remedy. Gawler was not allowed to sell land at less than twelve shillings an acre, cash down: but

by this time there were plenty of unhappy owners who would dispose of theirs for less, and the worker immigrants at last got their chance to farm. Moreover young and adventurous squatters had begun to travel their sheep overland from the Sydney side and take up runs in the lands behind Mount Lofty and along the Murray. Best of all, Gawler was recalled and Captain George Grey sent out as Governor. Great as his services were later on to New Zealand and to the Cape Colony, none of Grey's work has been more fruitful than what he accomplished during this, his first tenure of important office. He abolished the relief works and dispersed the workers among farms and stations inland; he cut down Government wages below those given by private employers; he stopped all public works that were not absolutely necessary. He taught South Australia, in fact, to depend on that private enterprise which is the secret of British success. Fortune smiled on him in answer, and disclosed lead mines at Mount Lofty and copper mines of great richness at Kapunda and Burraburra. The authorities at home were quick to acknowledge this renewed vitality; the Commission was abolished, the debt was forgiven, promise was made of representative government at the earliest possible date, and South Australia became a Crown colony like its eastern neighbours.

The Overlanders.

Governor Grey, 1841-5.

His drastic reforms.

Discovery of mines.

South Australia had practically no native question at all; in New Zealand the native question has been everything.

New Zealand.

The Australian blackfellow is little better than a

The Maoris.

Cape Bushman; the Maori is cleverer, and has been no less ferocious, than the Zulus of Tchaka. A Cape colonist might have

understood and managed these fearless savages, men more generous and honourable than most

Europeans, warriors who fought for the mere joy of fighting. But the first white settlers in

New Zealand did not understand that variety of savage; their idea of "nigger" was borrowed

from second-hand reports of the African negro's stupidity, and confirmed by the weakness and

simplicity of the mainland blackfellows they knew. A "nigger" with landlaws, more especially, was

something outside their wildest dreams. So the miscellaneous collection of escaped convicts, half-

piratical whaling crews, and other such

The Pakehas.

jetsam of the Pacific, which camped and fought and lived a wild life generally on the shores of

the Bay of Islands, was more brutal, perhaps, but no more exasperating in its treatment of the Maori

tribes than the refined but arrogant officials of the powerful New Zealand Company.

This nest of outlaws in the Bay of Islands gave

white men such a reputation for villainy among the Maoris that no ship dared put in along the

adjacent coasts without being fully prepared for

an attack. The first attempt at improving this state of things was made by Samuel Marsden, the head of the Church of England in New South Wales, a man whose political activity in the mother colony enveloped him in a halo of prejudice, but whose work in New Zealand was never anything but admirable. He first established missionaries in the Bay of Islands, persuading Macquarie to support them against the unruly whites by the appointment of four magistrates (one Englishman and three Maori chiefs) to preserve order. Soon afterwards the home Parliament confirmed this assumption of authority as far as British subjects were concerned, but deliberately refused (and continued obstinate for many years) to assert any authority over the natives or the islands. Other missionaries followed, but the best of them failed to control the Maori passion for war, and traders of the reckless and violent South Sea type gave the chiefs many chances of indulging it. At last, on a petition from some chiefs for protection against a worse set of traders than usual, Governor Bourke persuaded the home authorities to appoint a Mr. Busby and a Lieutenant McDonnell as Residents in the disturbed districts; and Busby utilized the experience of the missionaries, and soothed the natives by allowing them to declare their independence as "The United Tribes of New Zealand," so that he was

Dr.  
Marsden

found a  
N.Z.  
Mission,  
1814.

Statute of  
1817.

Resident  
Magistrates,  
1833.



able to keep some sort of order till a more decisive step became necessary.

Shut out from annexing any part of Australia, the French had for some time been meditating a descent upon the twin islands to the east. Baron de Thierry, a half-English half-French adventurer, was appealing to France to help him in asserting his title to land at Hokianga under McDonnell's supervision. Now while we were quite willing to leave the Maoris as much as possible to themselves, leaving them to France was a different thing altogether; but private enterprise again anticipated, and indeed hastened, Government action.

Wakefield Wakefield, the author of the South Australian experiment, was ready with plans for another colonizing Company. He himself took no active share in this enterprise, being called away to act as Assistant Secretary to Lord Durham in Canada,\* where he afterwards settled for some years: but his brother went out in command of an emigrant ship, and ran up the British flag at Port Nicholson just two days before Thierry arrived with a French flag. It was not the only escape in New Zealand history, for the same year a French fleet sailed to annex the South Island: but, putting in at the Bay of Islands on their way, they gave uninten-

The French  
again.

De Thierry,  
1823 to 1839.

Wakefield  
again.

The New  
Zealand  
Company,  
1839.

\* See p. 162.

tional warning to a British naval officer, who sailed in hot haste to their goal at Akaroa and beat them by four days.

Colonel Wakefield began, immediately on his arrival, to buy up land from the neighbouring Maori chiefs, and later on claimed that he had secured twenty million acres in patches along the coast between Taranaki and Hawke Bay, besides the Wairau valley and a patch on Tasman Bay in the South Island. But his ship had been hastily followed by one bound for Sydney, which carried the formal proclamation of New Zealand as part of the colony of New South Wales, and a commission for Captain Hobson—an officer already experienced in New Zealand affairs—as Lieutenant-Governor of the new British possession. Hobson sailed at once for the Bay of Islands, and called together the Maori chiefs to explain to them the altered condition of affairs; and out of this meeting arose a treaty, signed by the heads of "The United Tribes of New Zealand" and by many other chiefs of unconfederated tribes, which is still the basis of our rule in the North Island, and is looked upon by the Maoris as the charter of their liberties.

The  
Company  
at work.

Governor  
Hobson  
arrives,  
Jan., 1840.

This Treaty of Waitangi is a very simple document when interpreted honestly and with a

knowledge of Maori law: it has been a stumbling-block only to those who thought that the "bit of cloth and a few glass beads" style of treaty was good enough for any "nigger." The chiefs, signing for their tribes, surrendered their sovereign powers (such as they were) to the Queen of Great Britain. As against any other nation they were for the future British subjects, on a level with their fellows throughout the Empire, and the Queen's officers would have authority to search out and to punish crime. But in return for this surrender all their proprietary rights in the land of the two islands were guaranteed to them, and they agreed to dispose of them—if they cared to sell at all—only to representatives of the sovereign. Now the Maori land-law was simple enough: the land belonged to the tribes, not to individuals, and could be parted with only by a tribe's deliberate act. No cession by a chief (much less by a private person), not even (according to some authorities) forcible expulsion after war, could bar the tribe's right to territory; only the formal and solemn declaration of the whole body could sever the tribesmen's connection with the place where their fathers were buried. It is fair to say that the existence of these land customs has been controverted by many leading New Zealanders, who claim that they were invented by or for the Maoris after the arrival of Europeans.

The Treaty  
of Waitangi,  
Feb. 6,

yields  
sovereignty,

but retains  
for the  
Maoris  
possession  
of the land.

On the other hand we have the Maori statement backed by the highest legal authority; from the very first strong protests were made against any neglect of these laws by white men; and the deviations from them which sometimes occurred in practice can be explained as usurpations on the part of the chiefs like those of the Zamindars in Bengal.\*

Hobson therefore found himself immediately at odds with the settlers at Port Nicholson. Backed by his superior officer, Governor Gipps, he absolutely refused to recognize any of Wakefield's purchases except a patch on Port Nicholson itself. Directly the islands were made a separate Crown colony, he put into force an ordinance by which no purchase made at any time from the natives should be valid unless he himself, now Governor, approved of it. The New Zealand Company fought hard: it allied itself with other English colonizing companies,† and hurried out settlers to its alleged Taranaki and Tasman Bay estates, rightly anticipating that Hobson's opposition would have to yield to accomplished facts. Hobson worked himself to death in the attempt to manage unruly traders in the north, aggressive land-speculators in the

Hobson has to fight the Company.

Crown Lands Ordinance, 1841.

Hobson dies, Sept., 1842.

\* See p. 329.

† Plymouth was to the fore, as it had been in colonizing America, and left its name on the map of New Zealand also.

south, and excited tribesmen buzzing like disturbed hornets in their fastnesses between the two. His temporary successor, Lieutenant Shortland, was not firm in his seat before the trouble had become

The  
Wairau  
incident,  
1843.

acute. Colonel Wakefield's brother saw in the interregnum a happy opportunity for pushing the company's claims, and at once proceeded to occupy the invalid Wairau purchase.

The Maoris resisted; Wakefield led a body of armed settlers to drive them away: shots were fired, and in the scuffle Wakefield was killed. Only the firmness and just behaviour of Shortland prevented an immediate war — and even his prompt acknowledgment that the Maoris were in

Governor  
Fitzroy,  
1843-5.

the right did not avail to soothe their rapidly increasing irritation, which was intensified by the unwise weakness of the next Governor, Captain Fitzroy.

Grey had already rescued one Wakefield colony from bankruptcy: he might be able to rescue another from extermination. In 1845 he

Governor  
Grey,  
1845-52.

Hoko  
Kene's war.

was suddenly transferred from South Australia to New Zealand, where a native war had just broken out in the northern peninsula. The Maoris had apparently been studying Parliamentary debates, and did not understand that the sneers at themselves and the contemptuous references to their cherished treaty which they found there were in truth only weapons of attack

on the Ministry of the day. Grey began by proclaiming once for all that the Government would stand by the Treaty of Waitangi: then he called on friendly tribes to assist him against the rebels, and with their help crushed the Bay of Islands rebellion and another that was just beginning near Port Nicholson; while the loyal chiefs were rewarded with offices under the Crown, and the tribes in general pacified by the recognition of their own system of justice and the cancellation of Fitzroy's foolish concessions in the matter of land purchase by private individuals.

The  
'penny an  
acre' pro-  
clamation of  
Oct., 1844,  
cancelled in  
June, 1846.

With that began Grey's stubborn fight against the pretensions of the New Zealand Company. The points at issue were simple. He believed in cheap land and men who tilled their own ground: the Company held out for high-priced land and gentleman-farmers. He took the Treaty of Waitangi literally, looked upon the Maoris as British subjects, and treated them (generally speaking) as equals of the white new-comers—just as the French-Canadians of Quebec were equals of the U.E. men in Ontario; the Company's officials and its friends at home reckoned them a nuisance, to be cleared off the fertile lands of the colony as fast as white men might need them. In the North Island the struggle went on for years. The Whig pro-Company home Ministry of 1846 gave

Grey's fight  
with the  
Company.

The Con-  
stitution Act  
of 1846.

New Zealand a fearful and wonderful constitution providing for its division into provinces, the establishment of Municipal Corporations all over it, and its government by a complicated system of Councils and Assemblies (wholly white, of course), while the Maoris were to be cooped up in arbitrarily formed "aboriginal districts." Grey proclaimed the Act, appointed Lieutenant-Governors of the provinces—thus

relieving himself of much routine work—and let the rest of it drop dead. The same Ministry passed another Act to define Maori land-titles on purely British principles; Grey absolutely refused to enforce this Act at all. The Ministry was wise enough to acknowledge its mistake—emphasizing the acknowledgment by knighting the Governor—and the North Island remained peaceful to the end of Grey's reign.

The  
Amending  
Crown  
Lands Act  
of 1846.

Both Acts  
successfully  
opposed by  
Grey.

In the South Island circumstances were different. The greater part of it seems to have been uninhabited, and there was certainly no Maori

Different  
conditions  
in the South  
Island.

The Wake-  
field system  
at last pro-  
duces good  
results.

difficulty except in the northern districts already referred to.\* Here at last Wakefield found a chance of testing his system with everything in its favour, free from native troubles, with a beautiful and fertile country to experiment on, and with the

\* See p. 265.

failure of his Adelaide scheme to warn him against *dilettante* colonising. By this time, too, he had Canadian experience to guide him, and the new ventures succeeded admirably. Otago became the seat of a flourishing Scots colony, under the auspices of the Scottish Free Church; the wide well-watered plains of Canterbury were occupied by a similar Church of England settlement. The guiding principle of each was high-priced land (£2 per acre in Otago, £3 in Canterbury), whose sales, after ten shillings an acre had been paid to the New Zealand Land Company, were to pay for roads and bridges, churches and schools, and the bringing out of more immigrants.

#### G. *The Granting of Constitutions.*

Between the years 1840 and 1850 all the Australasian colonies were being, as dog-fanciers say, licked into shape. New South Wales got representative government in 1842, and South Australia a promise of it: transportation to the mainland was abolished in 1840, and only revived in 1849 for the isolated Swan River colony. The land question was the most prominent one of the day: in the older districts of New South Wales there was a successful attempt to make the squatter pay a fair rent for the run, which was now to be

The colonies become used to freedom.

Statute of 1847.



defined and leased to him; round Port Phillip confusion had arisen because regulations from home fixed the price of land there so that it should not compete with South Australia. The great grievance everywhere was the refusal of the home Government to sell land at less than £1 per acre. The colonists said, truly enough, that a good deal of the land was not worth that sum and should be sold at lower rates: Governor Gipps, backed by the home authorities, said the land would be worth it some day, and there was no need to dispose of all the colony to that generation of settlers. Gipps had his way, and subsequent generations have found some land still left for them.

Presently the outlying districts of the mother colony began to find themselves hampered by their enforced connection with Sydney—the Port Phillip men especially, since they took pride in their freedom from the convict element and their growing town of Melbourne. Up North opinion was divided: the squatters of the inland plains never quite disconnected themselves from Sydney and Newcastle interests, while the small settlers and traders of Brisbane thought that independence might bring the back-blocks trade their way. But Port Phillip had no doubts. The Melbourne men were not going to ruin their local business by attending Council meetings at

Port Phillip  
claims  
separation.

Sydney: certainly they were not going to elect Sydney people as their representatives. They were already a separate land district with a separate treasury; they had a see and a bishop of their own—why not have a colony of their own? They surprised the British Secretary of State for the Colonies by electing him as their member on the Sydney Council, and the humour of it struck him more than fifty petitions would have. In 1850 a new Constitution Act was passed, dealing with various Australian colonies; and The Act of 1850. the next year Victoria found herself going alone.

Before she was quite firm on her feet a tempest struck her, and all south-eastern Australia was in a whirl. In 1848 gold had been discovered in California, and the whole world Gold. rang with wild tales of sudden fortune and more sudden violence. In their morning newspapers the quiet farmers and squatters of Australia read strange stories of the far-off mining camps with the same mild interest we have been bestowing on Armenian massacres and Greek frontier fights. And then—in the twinkling of an eye it was upon them, this rush of eager gold-seekers, this turmoil of lawless adventurers from all the nations under heaven. Gold was known to exist in the gullies of the Dividing Range: but hitherto the secret had been whispered by half-terrified discoverers to the ears of reluctant officials. Now the colonies knew that payable gold had been found in a gully

not far from Bathurst, and the steep cañon of Summerhill Creek was already the home of a thousand miners. The hunt was up, and new goldfields broke out all along the main range.

Victorian discoveries. Clunes in Victoria reported a rich find, then Buninyong,\* then Mount Alexander.†

Five months of the rush brought half a million's worth of gold for export; in two years there were seventy thousand men on the fields. These were the results in Victoria alone, and the first strain on its resources was almost too great to be borne. In New South Wales a more firmly established government found it comparatively easy to control the smaller inflow of excited diggers; South Australia and Tasmania had no discoveries to speak of, and suffered mainly through loss of population, while the former colony soon found it profitable to supply the eastern goldfields with provisions. But in Victoria the administration was scarcely fledged; at best it had hoped to

The rush. rule seventy thousand people, and it was called on to face a population that doubled, and trebled, and within four years quadrupled; its laws were made for farmers and pastoralists, and now a mob of wild Uitlander miners (to use the modern name for them) had swallowed up even its local police. It sent to

The licence-fee trouble. Tasmania for warders, to England for troops. It attempted to raise the licence-

\* Now Ballarat.

† Now Castlemaine.

fee which, imitating the mother colony, it had imposed on all diggers. The diggers protested; they were being taxed, they said, by a Council in which they were not represented; they went so far as to form a Diggers' Congress. Bendigo petitioned for a lower licence-fee, and aided its cause with a little rioting; the fee was reduced, and Bendigo quieted down again. Ballarat—the Boston of the goldfields—was not so to be soothed, and went on rioting; at last the miners there refused to pay any licence fee at all, and when the troops were sent up to do police work they entrenched themselves on the <sup>The Eureka Stockade.</sup> Eureka lead. It was a mistake as fatal as that of the Mahratta chiefs in Wellesley's time: they were indomitable in their own tents, but the concentration of their forces made a defeat, when it should come, absolutely crushing. The troops attacked their stockade and carried it with a rush—and the revolt was over.

The time had come for a permanent solution of the whole colonial problem in Australia. In Victoria, by the end of 1855, the Uitlander population had settled down finally as residents, and were therefore justly entitled to a share in the <sup>Free Con-</sup> government. In Tasmania transportation <sup>stitutions.</sup> was a thing of the past, and its free settlers could at last claim that the island was theirs. South Australia in 1850 had received a Constitution

such as New South Wales had in 1842, and was rapidly learning the lesson of self-government. The very Act which gave it this Constitution empowered the Councils of all the four colonies to devise new ones for themselves, and the Colonial Office, anxious to be rid as soon as possible of these turbulent communities, was urgent that they should use their powers at once.

New Zealand, steadily growing in prosperity under Grey's firm rule, gained in 1852 a federal constitution practically designed by the <sup>New Zealand.</sup> Governor himself. It was the only way of properly reconciling the divergent interests of the Crown and the Company—or rather the Company's heirs, for the Company itself had been dissolved two years before. So Auckland—the Crown-settled district—the Company's original settlements of Wellington, Nelson, and New Plymouth (since called Taranaki), and the later church colonies of Otago and Canterbury, each received an elected Council and a superintendent of its own, while all six were controlled as to important and non-local matters by an elected Assembly and a nominee Council. For two years this system was worked with an Executive of permanent Crown officials: then the British instinct asserted itself, and Ministers became responsible to the Legislature, holding office only while the Assembly supported them. Those two

years taught the other colonies a lesson, and the constitutions which they gained in 1855 embodied in practice from the first the principle of responsible government. Each colony, moulding its own legislature, adopted the double-chambered pattern with differing details : and with the severance of the Moreton Bay district from New South Wales in 1859 to form the new colony of Queensland, Australia assumed the shape and obtained the freedom which was to serve it for thirty years of quiet and isolated progress.

## CHAPTER VII.

### AFRICA.

The African continent takes at once first and last place in the history of modern colonization.

Africa colonized very slowly. Before America was discovered, or Australia thought of, the Portuguese were establishing trading-stations all along the Guinea coast: but Australia had been settled for years and America for centuries before those trading-stations began to grow into anything more like colonies. Away down at the southern end, it is true, Holland had in 1652 made a beginning of genuine settlement, which gradually spread eastward and became the nucleus of the present Cape Colony: but with that exception Africa proper, as late as a hundred years ago, was for Europeans an unknown wonderland bounded by a narrow ribbon of unhealthy coastline.

African geography is in some respects not unlike that of India. The Mediterranean coastline was always closely connected with Medi-  
Its physical geography. terranean Europe, and is cut off by the Sahara from the main body of its continent. Leaving that out of consideration we have

two great tablelands, the lower and more northerly one stretching east and west, the higher running north and south. One river, the Niger, and one lake, Lake Tchad, drain through fertile valleys what there is to be drained of the northern plateau : the rest of it is practically desert. From the other, fed by many lakes, three great and for the most part navigable rivers (the Nile, Zambesi, and Congo) run north, east, and west. But the edges of both plateaux skirt the coastline so closely that ships are blocked at a comparatively short distance from the river mouths : and the mouths themselves of the Niger, the Congo, and the Zambesi, opening into tropical seas, are intricate deltas full of malarious disease for white explorers. So adventurers who sailed along African shores found that they could reach all the wealth of the East Indies without one-tenth of the trouble that would take them perhaps a hundred miles into this unamiable continent, and were content to tap its riches by mere trading forts along a fraction of its coastline.

#### I. WEST AFRICA.

We have already spoken of early British trade with the natives of Western Guinea.\* The first serious attempt to exploit the country was the result of a charter given by Charles II in 1662 to his brother the Duke of York. Like the American charters of

The Duke  
of York's  
charter,  
1662.

\* P. 62.



that century it was splendidly vague and comprehensive, covering nearly the whole of the Atlantic coastline. Ten years later this charter was passed on to a new trading company, which set to work to make it commercially profitable by engaging in the slave trade. Cape Coast Castle had already been taken from the Dutch, and British ships joined those from Portugal and Holland that haunted the Oil Rivers and the Niger delta.

Royal  
African  
Company  
founded,  
1672.  
1661.

In dealing with this form of commerce, which has played so important a part for both good and evil in the history of Britain's Atlantic colonies, we must be careful not to judge the events of past centuries by the moral standard of to-day.\* The blacks of the northern tableland are a race physically strong, but with ill-equipped minds, at once cunning and superstitious, childish alike in their quick passions and in their lack of organizing power. They fall easily under the dominion of higher tribes, such as the Fulahs who lord it over Sokoto and its dependent kingdoms; and under such leaders they eagerly destroy or enslave each other. Slaves were offered to English traders as regular merchandise many years before the Royal African Company engaged in the traffic. The first slave traders were, in their own eyes, practical philan-

The slave-  
trade

indigen-  
ous to  
Africa.

\* See also p. 50.

thropists. They did not introduce slavery into Africa; they simply took things there as they found them, bettering, they thought, the lot of the unfortunate victims by substituting civilized and Christian conditions for the ghastly barbarities of West African tyrants. Nation after nation followed in the track of the Portuguese. The first disgust of English traders at the traffic was admirable, but founded on sentiment only, not on a sense of its wrongness; and as Britain acquired tropical and semi-tropical colonies across the Atlantic, the necessity of obtaining labourers for their development became urgent. The home islands had none to spare; America itself had no able-bodied workers; but West Africa produced all the colonists could want, and to West Africa they went. For a short time they allowed the Dutch, slave-trade middlemen from the first, to do the work of transport; but a series of measures\* which Cromwell initiated in no long time ousted Holland from the carrying trade, and British ships brought over negroes at the rate of 7,000 a year. Then came into existence that vicious triangle of commerce over which sailed ship after ship, carrying slaves from the Oil Rivers to Jamaica and Carolina, receiving there the produce of slave labour, tobacco, molasses, and cotton, for transport to

British  
slave-trade  
does not  
begin till  
1640 at the  
earliest.

Cromwell's  
Navigation  
Acts, 1651-5.

The vicious  
triangle.

\* P. 55.

Bristol, and returning to the African coast with the rum and cotton goods into which that produce had been worked up.

In 1721 the Royal African Company obtained what they thought would be a very lucrative privilege. Under the terms of the Pope's <sup>The</sup> Assiento. decree of 1493 Africa belonged to Portugal as against Spain: and the Spaniards could not well dispute the validity of this arrangement, whatever other nations might think of it. They were therefore dependent on Portugal, or on the nations that disputed Portugal's claims to Africa, for the supply of slaves to all Spanish America. Their colonial policy was always one of monopolies, and the King of Spain made money by assigning (for a consideration, of course) to some one nation exclusively the contract for slave-importation. By the Treaty of Utrecht\* this contract, called the Assiento, was transferred from the French, who then held it, to the English for a period of thirty years, and was given (for a stipulated share in the profits) by the English Government to the South Sea Company. At the reconstruction of that Company after its misfortunes in 1721,† the African Company took the contract over. But the business was not a paying one, even from the purely commercial point of view. It was enormously wasteful of human life:

\* P. 76.

† P. 79.

the raids which supplied its market destroyed every other form of industry and the populations that lived by them, and in doing so annihilated the material—the human beings—which they were intended to procure. The Company fell deeper and deeper into debt to the Spanish King, and to recover itself took a great part in forcing on the war of “Jenkins’ ear,” which was expected to cancel the King’s claims; but the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle left them as urgent as ever, and in 1752 the Company ceased to exist, being replaced by a body which represented all the merchants engaged in the African trade.

The contract is cancelled, 1750.

Slave-trading, as we may imagine, did not promote the formation of colonies along the West African coast. The posts held by merchants of each nation were merely depôts for the storage of slaves and other merchandise, with a strong fort built beside each for its protection against rival traders. Even the ground on which these buildings stood was not the property of either merchants or nation: it remained, in some cases up till only twenty-five years ago, still a part of the dominions of some native ruler. The traders were tenants only, and the posts changed hands nearly as often as a leased house nowadays. The fort at Arguin, for instance, was first Portuguese, then Dutch, then French, then Prussian: England then had the offer of it, but the price was too high, so the Dutch

No colonies as yet, merely fortified store-houses.

got it again, and the French after them. In  
 Nor did any many places forts of two or three nations  
 European stood side by side: and so natural did  
 nation claim territory. this arrangement seem — so little was  
 there any thought of territorial rights in West  
 Africa—that by treaty after treaty British and  
 French merchants were allowed to settle and trade  
 in close proximity. The Peace of Paris, which  
 gave Britain the Senegambia trade, wilfully left  
 France at Goree: the treaty of Versailles, in  
 restoring Senegambia to France, kept open to  
 British traders a strip of the ceded coast.\* The  
 forts were, in fact, only national in a very limited  
 sense. From 1729 onwards the British Parlia-  
 ment voted yearly a sum of money for the main-  
 tenance of the African Company's posts, and took  
 them over from its successor in 1763: but twenty  
 years later they were handed back to the mer-  
 chants (the vote being continued) and were held by  
 them, with a six years' interval (1821-7), for another  
 sixty years.

The slave trade, then, prevented colonization:  
 the first real colony was a mark of its  
 Beginning approaching ruin. Half-way through the  
 of the anti-slavery eighteenth century began a revolt of  
 agitation, 1761, the more humane thinkers in France and

\* Compare the provisions of the Treaty of Utrecht with regard to Newfoundland. But the French have been wiser than we, and in 1857 made a bargain with us which cancelled our trade-rights in Senegambia.

England against the very idea of slavery. It took eighty years to convert public opinion to the whole of this new doctrine: the more visible and more horrible results of slave-owning were attacked and abolished in a much shorter time. In 1807 the carrying trade between Africa and America was finally prohibited; but long before that a judicial decision\* had declared in 1772 that on British soil no slavery was possible—the slave who trod it became a freeman at the touch. Now many American planters, coming home to enjoy themselves, had brought for economy's sake their household slaves with them: and as this decision set them free and made it necessary to pay them for their service, the economy vanished, and the unfortunate negroes were turned adrift. The Government, in order to be rid of this unwelcome body of unemployed, gladly aided a private company of philanthropists to transport them back to Africa: and in 1787† a party of four hundred was established on the shores of Freetown harbour, the best in all the Atlantic coast of Africa, where next year the purchase of a strip of land and the submission of the neighbouring chiefs gave Britain her colony of Sierra Leone.

Sierra  
Leone the  
first real  
colony.

\* In the Court of King's Bench, delivered by Lord Mansfield (Somerset's Case).

† The Sierra Leone expedition sailed on April 9th, 1787, only a month before the despatch of Captain Phillip's fleet to colonize New South Wales.

This was the beginning of an entirely new policy in regard to African trade. "Open up the interior" was now the cry; for slave-raiding had so ruined the coastal districts that from the tableland only could material for legitimate trade be obtained. Side by side with the African Company of Merchants, from which it must be carefully distinguished, the African Association took up the work of exploration. Of what lay behind the fever-breeding swamps of the coast nothing was known. But there was a rumour, thousands of years old, of a great river, the Niger; and on this half-mythical stream later rumours placed the glorious city of Timbuctoo. The French, further north, had for many years vainly tried to get to it up the Senegal, which according to some accounts was a mouth of the Niger itself. The Gambia was another possible mouth—for eighteenth century maps make the river a perfect octopus, some even joining it to the Congo and the Nile. Up the Gambia, therefore, went Mungo Park, the first of a splendid line of Scottish explorers in Africa; he saw the waters that men had dreamt of, but was killed in an attempt to follow them to the sea. After him Denham and Clapperton, cutting across the Sahara from Tripoli, discovered Lake Tchad; Caillié, the French explorer, reached Timbuctoo *viâ* the Senegal; Clapperton (with a

The  
interior  
explored by

Mungo  
Park,  
1795-1805;

Clapperton,  
1822-7;

new companion, Lander) struck the Niger from the south-west, and died with his discoveries half done; and Lander a few years later without knowing it explored the Niger delta and its great tributary the Benué. But it was not till after 1850 that the whole truth was known. Richardson and Barth, English and Prussian respectively, made for Lake Tchad by the Tripoli route, with the object of checking the internal slave-trade of the Soudan by commercial treaties with the central negro states. Richardson died during the journey; Barth before his return had joined the discoveries of Lander to those of Mungo Park, and the course of the Niger was mapped from start to finish.

All this time the trading settlements on the coast had been going to ruin. The abolition of the slave trade had taken away their only source of profit, and nothing but the mere fact of possession prevented the British Government from abandoning them. A man is slow to throw into the ash-heap even his three-year-old hat. Ministry after Ministry experimented with new forms of control. They had three settlements to deal with—an island on the Gambia, the colony of Sierra Leone, and a row of forts along the Gold Coast, of which Cape Coast Castle was the chief. They began by supervising the Gold Coast traders in their relations with the king-

and Barth,  
1849-55.

The coast  
settlements  
almost  
abandoned.

Variable  
policy of  
the British  
Govern-  
ment.  
1818.



dom of Ashanti. Then they abolished the African Company altogether, and tried to govern  
 1821. all the settlements from Freetown. Next  
 1825. they abandoned all the Gold Coast forts but two, and two years after proposed to let those go also. Then the whole row of forts was handed over to a committee of London  
 1828. merchants. Fifteen years afterwards the  
 1843. Gold Coast was taken back by the Crown, and to each of the three settlements was given a separate Governor. In 1850 more forts were bought from Denmark, which thus disappeared from West Africa : and during the next few years each settlement gained new territory. In 1861 a fourth colony was founded by the cession of Lagos, the headquarters of such piratical slave-traders as had not yet been exterminated. And in 1865 a select committee of the House of Commons recommended the gradual abandonment of every West African colony except that of Sierra Leone.

It was not to be expected that colonies should flourish when they were treated with such perverse inconsistency. But the interregnum on the Gold Coast—the fifteen years of control by a committee of merchants—gave that settle-  
 Maclean  
 founds the  
 Gold Coast  
 protector-  
 ate, 1828-42,  
 ment an opportunity for consolidation of which the Governor skilfully availed himself. The confederated negro tribes of Ashanti had conquered the coast natives very early in the

century, and had claimed succession to their ownership of all Gold Coast soil. For twenty years they enforced the claim by repeated invasions, and twice at least succeeded in getting it admitted. But Captain Maclean, whom the merchants' committee had made Governor, drove them from the coastal districts, freed the neighbouring tribes entirely from their rule, and created what was practically a British protectorate over some eight thousand square miles of territory. Britain was at last beginning in West Africa the work of peace-making and establishment of order which had long before this given to India the first restfulness it ever knew.

For forty years Maclean's treaty confined the Ashanti warriors behind the river Prah. Sullenly declining all friendly commerce with their English conquerors, they settled down to manufactures of various kinds which they disposed of through such Dutch forts as were still left on the Gold Coast. But the Dutch Government was even more eager to get rid of its West African posts than the select committee of the House of Commons: and in 1871 Holland retired,\* as Denmark had done twenty-one years before. This meant to the Ashanti king the disappearance of his last vestige of authority south of the Prah—

and masters  
the Ash-  
antis.  
Treaty of  
1831.

The  
Ashanti  
war, 1873-4.

\* Even more eagerly; the Danes were bought out, while the Dutch asked only for the value of their stores.

for the Dutch had never disputed his right to a nominal tribute. As soon as might be he marched upon Cape Coast Castle in such force that it was determined to end his power once and for all. Sir Garnet Wolseley led the attack from the south, while a native force marched from further eastwards, upon the Ashanti capital of Coomassie: two defeats and the burning of his chief town, followed by the unexpected arrival of the subsidiary force, drove the king to abject submission; and the confederacy which he had long held together by the fear of his savage army broke up into a number of weak and peaceable chieftainships, which have since that time looked to the British administrators for guidance and protection.

## II. EAST AFRICA AND THE LAKES.

In Eastern Africa, too, there was a flourishing trade in slaves, but not a European one. The Dutch colonies of Further India needed no importation of labour; India was crowded, Australia unexplored and seemingly worthless. It was the Turkish and Persian dominions that required slaves, and the Arabs had, for religious reasons,\* a complete monopoly of that traffic. So the Portuguese had neglected their annexations along the East Coast, which no other European nation cared to seize, and in 1698 the

The East  
African  
slave-trade.

\* As being also Mahommedans.

Arab sultan of Oman drove them from the Zanzibar district and fixed their boundary where it lies to-day. At the southern end also their nominal possessions were curtailed, and the Dutch from Capetown in 1720 built a fort on Delagoa Bay. This was soon abandoned, it is true, but under pressure from England, not from Portugal: and it was not till an Austrian expedition had in 1776 annexed the district, made treaties with the surrounding tribes, and settled down to steady commercial work, that the Portuguese Government thought it worth while to assert their long-forgotten claims. In 1823 another attempt was made, by England this time, to secure this much claimed but little used harbour, and its ownership was not definitely settled till 1875.

Arab  
empire of  
Zanzibar  
founded,  
1698.

Arbitration  
gives Dela-  
goa Bay to  
Portugal,  
1875.

Meanwhile the Oman sultans had established a sort of protectorate over the coast from which they had driven Portugal: and when a revolt in Muscat set up a new dynasty in Oman itself, the African viceroy held his chief town, Mombasa, for the deposed rulers, and called in a British squadron to help him against the new-comers. The British commander saw his opportunity, and obtained a protectorate over a long coast strip which he hoped would be the nucleus of another Indian Empire in East Africa. But the Government of the day had no use for empires, and our work in India was

British pro-  
tectorate of  
Zanzibar  
proclaimed,  
1824,

and can-  
celled, 1826.

under a cloud: the protectorate was refused, and after thirty-five more years of fighting the Oman princes were again undisputed masters of the whole Zanzibar coast, and had extended their sphere of influence to the edge of the Great Lakes. Their dominion was now formally recognized and guaranteed by Britain, and Zanzibar became to all intents and purposes as much a British protectorate as Hyderabad or Kashmir. But the simple step of proclaiming this was for various reasons never taken.

After the problem of the Niger's course had been settled by Barth, men began to look eastwards for fresh problems to solve. Geographically, the legends of the Upper Nile were even more famous for their age and their mysterious surroundings than those of the Niger: and directly affairs in East Africa began to settle down under an orderly form of government the long line of British explorers set to work in the district of the Great Lakes. Burton, Speke, Grant, Baker, alone or in pairs mapped out Tanganyika and the two Nyanzas, while Livingstone further south opened up Lake Nyassa and the Zambesi valley, and all but discovered the secret of the Congo. His work, indeed, was the more effective

Explora-  
tions in East  
and Central  
Africa.

Burton,  
1856-8;

Speke,  
1856-63;

Baker,  
1861-73;

Living-  
stone,  
1849-73.

of the two. Ever since the abolition of slavery in British dominions the nation had been proudly philanthropic towards Africa: and Livingstone's

self-sacrificing toil as a missionary excited an attention and an enthusiasm which neither he nor his fellow-explorers could have aroused by the most astonishing of mere discoveries. His travels made the towns of Central Africa household words all over Britain: and his death in 1873 turned African exploration into a sort of nineteenth century crusade.

### III. SOUTH AFRICA.

NOTE ON SOUTH AFRICAN NAMES.—In Boer names the four following sounds must be remembered: *oe* = *oo*, *oo* = *oh*, *ei* = *ay*, *ij* (often written *y*) = *ay* (very nearly,—the sound of last syllable in Fr. *sommeil*). Thus Bloemfontein = *Bloomfontayn*, Boomplaatz = *Bohmplahtz*, Vryheid = *Vrayhate*, Secocoeni = *Secocooni*.

In Kaffir names certain indescribable “clicks” occur which English can but feebly imitate by inserting minor vowels or semi-vowels to be half-pronounced; as in Cetywayo, Isandhlwana.

#### A. The Dutch Settlement.

A glance at the map will show that of Africa proper (*i.e.*, not counting the Mediterranean countries) only a very small part is outside the tropics.

Now within the tropics nearly all over the world Europeans find it very difficult to establish permanent colonial settlements, which must always depend on farming or herding: and in Africa especially intra-tropical “colonies” are really at the best only trading stations surrounded by a ring of protected native tribes. But the blunt

South  
Africa the  
place for  
European  
colonies.

southern point of the continent is thrust out into a cooler climate, and the European settler finds there at least the possibility of a healthy and comfortable home.

After the terror-stricken flight of the Portuguese ships, and the falling through of the British East India Company's annexation,\* South Africa was for some time left to its Hottentots and Bushmen.

But in 1652 the Dutch East India Company put into force a thirty-three years old resolution, and established in Table Bay a "fort and garden" for provisioning their trade ships with fresh meat and vegetables. Very few settlers came to the new colony, for the Company's trading rules were too strict to encourage any farming beyond what was necessary to supply its own fleet.

In 1687, however, it was able to ship from Holland about two hundred of the Huguenots who had been driven from France by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; these newcomers were not well treated by the Cape officials, and kept very much to themselves. Later on there came in Dutch soldiers who had served their time in the Indian colonies, and when they wanted wives the Company exported a number of girls from the orphan schools of Holland. It was not to be

expected that any of these colonists would bear great affection to Holland or think of it as "home." They had been practically

The Cape  
seized by  
the Dutch  
E.I.C., 1652.

Revocation  
of the Edict  
of Nantes,  
1685.

The begin-  
nings of  
Afrikander  
sentiment

\*See pp. 60-1.

turned out of Europe, and everything that in the new land reminded them of Europe was detestable: the Governors were haughty and cruel, the laws were perversely tyrannical, all the petty details of life were subject to irritating regulations. Even the best of the Company's Governors put forth edicts against the use of umbrellas and silk dresses, and bade every man take off his hat to the Governor's house. As for business matters, the local Council took care that there should be no fortunes made outside the official circle. The Company fixed a price for produce at which it could buy all that the farmers had for sale. If <sup>Trade</sup> restrictions. a trading ship anchored in Table Bay the Company sold what it chose first, and then the farmer was given his turn—if the ship happened to want any more, and the Company had not already bought the whole of his stock at its own price. By dint of such treatment, continued for a hundred years, the Dutch officials managed to weld their discontented collection of Huguenots, veterans, and orphans into what was almost a new nation—a nation of men whose great wish <sup>The Boers.</sup> was to be let alone, who cared nothing for trade and very little for any sort of social life, who owned no allegiance (except by compulsion) to any law but their own interpretation of the Bible, and felt no patriotism for any country on earth but their own South Africa. Capetown remained Dutch, but the rest of the colony was Boer.



As the young nation—though it was never really young: it was born middle-aged—increased, the area of the colony grew also. Whenever Dutch law and order came too near them, the Boers moved on into fresh country east-wards and northwards: and in doing so they found themselves in collision with a quite new variety of natives. The Hottentots, a somewhat lazy nation of cattle-breeders, were nearly all dead, mainly from epidemics of small-pox. The Bushmen, a smaller and more savage race of hunters, stole their sheep and cattle in thousands and were trapped like vermin to check the thefts. But during the years of waiting between Portuguese discovery and Dutch occupation a more dangerous and more intelligent enemy had forced his way southwards from the Zambesi. Exterminating or absorbing the milder tribes that lay in their path, clan after clan of the great Bantu\* nation had stormed down the east coast, each forcing its predecessors before it, till in 1779 their vanguard, the Kosas, met the eastward-trekking Boers not far from Algoa Bay. There for many years after an almost perpetual war raged between the whites and the Kaffirs, in which the latter were forced back step by step from the Fish River to the Keiskamma and from the Keiskamma to the Kei. Luckily for the

\* These southern clans are generally known collectively as Kaffirs.

Cape Colony there was no civilized enemy in the background to organize and make still more cruel the Kaffir raids, as the administrators of French Canada had envenomed the Indian raids on New England. But the grim story of eight Kaffir wars will help us to understand why Boers retain what New Englanders have not long forgotten—the tradition that treats natives as vermin, as brutes who cannot morally claim to be treated like human beings.

As the French also had possessions in the East Indies, it was natural that they should now and again think of South Africa as a convenient half-way house. Mauritius, certainly, was their regular provisioning station: but when events in India had all but destroyed their trade, and had left them little but the wish to cripple British commerce in revenge, the Cape offered great advantages as a naval station on the direct line between Europe and the East. In 1781, during a short alliance between France and Holland, French troops actually occupied Capetown. When, therefore, in 1793 the newly-established French Republic became aggressive, declared war on Britain, and set up a fellow-Republic in the Netherlands, the British ministry resolved at once to forestall any such further occupations: and the Stadtholder\* of the

French  
designs on  
the Cape.

The French  
Republic  
becomes  
propagan-  
dist.

\* A sort of hereditary President.

Netherlands, who had fled to England to seek refuge from the French, was induced to write a

letter to the Cape authorities, commanding them to admit British troops into the colony for its protection against a French invasion. The recipients of this letter found

The Cape occupied by British troops, June, 1795.

themselves in a quandary. While some wished to hold Capetown for the Company, and some to await orders from the new rulers in Holland, there were a few in important positions who were determined to obey the Stadtholder's orders: and the Boers, though disunited among themselves, were in favour of cutting loose altogether from Europe and setting up an independent republic with all the French paraphernalia. The British knew their own minds: their half-hearted opponents were sure neither of their own nor of each other's. There was a slight attempt at resistance: the Cape

The Dutch E.I.C. disappears.

Council passed energetic defence resolutions: and forthwith the garrison surrendered, and the British generals took over the administration of the colony.

At first the new state of things commended itself to the majority of the Boers. General Craig did

everything he could to make them understand that their country had not been conquered or annexed to Britain: he maintained the best of the Dutch laws, and kept in office the most trustworthy of the late Company's servants: where he altered the laws it was to give

The new rulers at first just and mild.

them greater freedom, and all restrictions on their trade or their movements were at once abolished. But presently the British Ministry began to send out regular Governors, and all General Craig's arrangements were reversed. Lord Macartney, the first Governor, was the man who in Madras fifteen years before had so mismanaged the war with Tippoo: his year at the Cape was productive of not much less mischief. His successor, Sir George Yonge, was corrupt as well as stupid. The Boers found themselves oppressed on all sides: trade was restricted again, and they were forced to swear allegiance to King George. Worst of all, the Kosas burst into the border territory and ravaged it far to the west of Algoa Bay: and the British commander, instead of fighting, waited till their plundering was done and then merely took their word that they would not do it again. As a natural result the raid was repeated three years running, until the farmers took the law into their own hands and drove the Kaffirs beyond the border. And to men in this state of mind there came out agents of the London Missionary Society, full of abstract philanthropy, to preach the social equality of white man and black man, and to condemn the Boer self-defence against their "brothers," the savage Kosas. One cannot wonder that there was rejoicing throughout the colony when in 1803 it

But afterwards  
tyranny produces  
disaffection.

Third Kaffir  
War, 1799.

Peace of  
Amiens,  
1802.

was handed back to the control of the Batavian\* republic, which had replaced the old half-monarchical constitution of Holland.

This, the first and only real administration of the Cape by a Dutch government (for the earlier control was entirely the East India Company's), was in every way a model among colonial policies of the time. Every mistake of the later English Governors was remedied. The laws were to be such as suited the colony, not a mere literal copy of the code which might suit Holland. Trade was again made free, and differences of religion were no longer a bar to political freedom. Reserves were allotted to the peaceful native tribes, and the rest strictly excluded from the settled boundaries. How long this joyful state of things would have lasted we cannot tell, for the control was roughly ended in three years: but it left for very long in the minds of the Boers a regretted memory of the days when they ruled themselves.

The Cape a  
real Dutch  
colony.

#### B. *British Rule Begins.*

Barely three months after the handing back of the colony in 1803 war had broken out afresh in Europe, and it became again a cardinal point of British policy to secure the Cape route to our Indian possessions. It was not, however, till 1806 that a great fleet sailed into

War with  
Napoleon,  
1803-14.

\* Do not confuse this with Batavia in Java, the capital of the Dutch East Indian colonies.

Table Bay and landed an army of seven thousand men to occupy the unfortunate colony. This time there was a genuine attempt at resistance, but with no possibility of success; and General Baird did his very best to follow in the footsteps of General Craig. The Earl of Caledon, the first Governor who was appointed after the recapture, worked along the same lines, and his successor imitated him: but there is a great difference between doing what you wish and *having* to do what you wish, and the Boers could not reconcile themselves thoroughly even to the most benevolent of despotisms. Nor was their distaste for British methods of government lessened by any great admiration for the British character. Every nation and every age has its own ideas about lying. The Englishman of Napoleon's time thought it no harm, on the strength of British victories at sea, to make a boast of his prowess on land which had little to justify it till Wellington held the Peninsula: and the Boer, knowing something from his French friends of the glories of Napoleon, set the Englishman down as an unmitigated liar. The Boer himself, on the other hand, being taxed on his stock and the produce of his farm, had acquired a habit of gross under-valuation: and the British tax-collector was quite ready to call him a swindling scoundrel. Such first impressions tend to become traditional, however flimsy be the causes that produced them: nor have the two races

Capetown  
taken, Jan.  
9, 1866.

Ill-feeling  
between  
Boers and  
British.

that dominate South Africa yet quite got over their mutual distrust.

The Batavian Republic had disappeared not long after the outbreak of war, to be replaced by a

Holland a  
kingdom,  
1806.

Holland  
annexed,  
1810.

Kingdom of Holland under Louis Bonaparte, a brother of Napoleon. In 1810 even this show of independence was lost, and Holland became a mere province of the French Empire. From that time

forth the Boers lost all interest in Europe. Those who still thought of revolt longed for an independent republic of their own: the great majority were not anxious to have any such responsibility, and made

The Cape  
Dutch settle  
down  
quietly.

themselves as comfortable as possible under British rule. But from any government, they thought, three things should be obtained: justice between man and man, protection from the border Kaffirs, and freedom to use their own beloved language, the Taal, and to abide by their settled customs. If on these three points the English could content them, well and good: if not—there were other places in the world besides Cape Colony.

When in 1814 the Prince of Orange returned to Holland he was easily persuaded to sell his South

The colony  
is finally  
handed  
over to  
Britain.

African territory to Britain: it was a cheap way of showing his gratitude to the nation which had sheltered him during his long exile. It is from August of that

year, therefore, that we must date the acquisition of the Cape as a British colony. The new Governor, Lord Charles Somerset, was a despot of a fairly common type: he was not wilfully a tyrant, but rather a well-meaning though arbitrary and headstrong martinet. He did *his* best for the colony, but he would take no advice as to what would be *the* best for it. Consequently, although among the important acts of his governorship those which most injured and irritated the Boers were the result of direct interference from London, and were not of his doing at all, yet his unpopularity for minor reasons caused these also to be put down to his account. It was in his time that the first really British settlement in South Africa was made. Up till 1820 the colony was purely Boer with a small leavening of English Civil servants. But in that year the Imperial Parliament granted fifty thousand pounds towards settling English and Irish families on South African soil. The Governor had spent the two previous years in fighting the Kosas, whom he had at last driven many miles eastward of their old boundary line, and separated from the European settlement by a strip of land where no habitation was allowed. The new settlers were located round Grahamstown, immediately behind this bare strip, to the number of nearly five thousand: and after a hard struggle under the

Lord C.  
Somerset  
Governor,  
1814-26.

British  
colonists  
arrive in  
S. Africa,  
1820.

Fifth Kaffir  
war,  
1818-19.



new conditions, in which the government gave them judicious help, they became very prosperous.

Then came upon the colony two great misfortunes. In the English Government of that day colonial affairs were looked after by the Minister of War, who was a weak man: while foreign affairs and finance had each a strong and energetic Minister. Consequently we studied the interests of other nations' colonies much more than those of our own: and the more we warned Spain against further interference in South America, the more we insisted on interfering ourselves in South Africa. The new settlers were the protegés of the Ministry: the Ministry therefore saw fit to exalt them at the expense of the rest by making English, and English only, the official language of the Cape Colony. Every official document, every word spoken in the law courts, was to be in a language which seven-eighths of the people could not understand. The example of Canada might well have deterred them: but the Ministries of 1815-30 had no taste for historical study. Then the financiers took their turn. The colony was over-loaded with paper money, which had been issued partly by the Dutch, partly by the British administrations. This greatly hampered commerce with other countries, but was on the whole convenient for trade within the colony, such as the mass of the Boers engaged in. An order from

English  
made the  
official  
language.

Currency  
reform  
clumsily  
carried out.

England suddenly reduced the value of every paper dollar from four shillings to eighteenpence. The colonists protested angrily, English and Boers alike. They went so far as to send home the late Chief Secretary of the colony, Colonel Bird, who had been in office at the Cape ever since 1797 (except, of course, during the rule of the Batavian Republic): but neither this gentleman's experience, nor the strong advocacy of Lord Caledon and Mr. Baring, could avail against the *doctrinaire* policy of the Government. To the merchants of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth the inconveniences of this step were balanced by the greater security it gave to their foreign trade: but the farmers of the interior simply lost five-eighths of their cash.

### C. *The Zulu Terror.*

Meanwhile beyond the boundaries of the colony all was war and massacre. In 1800 Africa south of the Zambesi was densely peopled with tribes of the Bantu stock, living peaceably together as a rule, except when some chief took it into his head to consolidate his authority over the outlying clans of his dominion. But it happened that one tribe was ruled by a chief who had seen something of European discipline and knew the value of drill and organization. His favourite pupil, Tchaka by name, succeeded him in the chieftainship, and very soon fashioned out of his Zulu warriors an army of brave, orderly,

Rise of the  
Zulu nation.

and well-armed regiments. With this new and irresistible weapon he set himself to extirpate every tribe within reach. Other Bantus might breed and pasture cattle: the Zulu was in future to live on their labours. So out of central Zululand he sent his regiments on their work of destruction till not a tribe was left within easy reach. Those who stayed to fight him perished utterly: those that fled attacked others in desperation, till Natal was empty and Pondoland was full of indefinite slaughter. The Zulu terror spread even across the great range of the Drakensberg: all the tribes between the Orange and the Vaal were in motion, Bechuanaland was laid waste, and some of them were carried by the rush to the Zambesi itself, where they were known as the Makololo.

The murder of Tchaka by his brothers made things if anything worse. Dingaan, one of the murderers, succeeded him and improved on his barbarity. Soon of all the Bantu clans within reach there was only one left to carry on the fight: for in their strongholds between the two great ranges, the Quathlamba and Lobombo mountains, the Swazis could defy even the victorious Zulu army. Now the conquerors began to quarrel among themselves. Moselekatze, one of Tchaka's favourite generals, had before his master's death dared to keep for his own army the booty it had won, and had

Tchaka's  
wars,  
1822-8.

Natal and  
the interior  
desolated.

The Swazis  
alone resist  
success-  
fully.

The  
Matabele

found it wise, cur-like, to decamp hastily with the spoils to a safe distance. Through the Drakensberg passes his regiments burst into the Transvaal, and after completely devastating it and the neighbouring lands as far as the Kalahari Desert settled down near the Upper Limpopo, where they founded the Matabele nation. They settle down on the Marikwa, 1830.

Two more new tribes were among the results of this great upheaval. The Fingoes were a rabble of refugees who established themselves in the Kosa country near the British boundary, The Fingoes. and were so hated by the clans among whom they intruded that they were forced to look to the colonists as their only protectors. Further north a stronger body of fugitives had learnt a lesson from the Swazis. Under Moshesh, the cleverest of Bantu statesmen as Tchaka The Basutos. was the cleverest of warriors, every man who could fight if necessary but preferred to live quietly was provided with land and seed in the fertile valleys where the Orange River has its beginnings. Moshesh attacked no man: when the Matabele attacked him, he waited till they were starved out of his country, and then sent them food wherewith to get back to their own. It was typical of his conduct all through: he was one of those irritatingly successful men whose powers of putting everybody else in the wrong make them at once prosperous and unpopular with their neighbours:

and with such weapons he built up the Basuto nation, the pet lamb of the philanthropist and the despair of colonial statesmen.

Of all these wars and migrations the net result was this: that in 1836 the Cape Colony was bordered everywhere, except on its extreme eastern corner, by waste and empty lands. Between the Keiskamma and Umzimvubu, Kosas and Fingoes harried each other: from their border the <sup>The great waste land.</sup> territory that is now Pondoland and Natal stretched to the Tugela in fertile valleys that no man tilled; for behind the Tugela Dingaan and his Zulus lived on their plunder, and kept up their training by continued raids into Swaziland. From the heights of Basutoland Moshesh looked south and east across the deserted Zulu hunting-grounds, Dingaan's idea of a New Forest: north and west of him for hundreds of miles stretched the Matabele preserves, where two tribes only dared to live—the Matabele themselves in their kraals along the Marikwa, and some way south-west of them a <sup>The Batlapin.</sup> weak Bechuana tribe, saved from the general slaughter by the address and wisdom of the missionary, Robert Moffat. Besides these two there was no organized human society left between the tropics and the Drakensberg.

#### D. *The Philanthropists.*

Lord Charles Somerset went to England in 1826, and his successor was compelled by orders

from home to continue the same Anglicizing policy. The law courts and the local councils were now attacked and renovated on British lines, though the Imperial Government remembered enough of Indian history to avoid the abolition of Dutch civil law. But more injurious than any of these definite changes was the growing influence of English philanthropists with the home Government. For years—ever since the second taking of Cape Town—the white farmers had been charged with murders and outrages committed upon the Hottentots, and in 1812 the whole colony had been thrown into confusion by an enquiry, which, after ample investigation, proved that the great mass of these accusations was entirely false. But in England the charges were still repeated, in spite of Governors' reports and the decisions of judges. Such charges always are: the men who dare to make them at all are either too excited to understand the value of evidence or not chivalrous enough to admit their mistake. The missionaries who actually lived and did very good work among the Kaffir tribes knew the truth, but their recommendations were put aside: the zealous philanthropic societies had their agents in Cape Town, ready at any time to interfere with the edicts of the Governor, if need were, and to report to England every

Sir Lowry  
Cole  
Governor,  
1828-34.  
Law  
reform.

False  
reports of  
Boer  
cruelty.

The mis-  
sionaries  
sensible,

philan-

but their  
superiors  
will not  
listen to  
them.

attempt at controlling the Hottentot population or repressing the Kaffirs. It was as if a Government official should insist on the abolition of all discipline at a great public school, on the ground that all boys must be treated alike and no more strictly than the masters. The Hottentot tribal system had disappeared long before in an epidemic of smallpox, and the remaining natives of that race were a masterless crew, obeying no man and no law: yet when the Earl of Caledon put them under European law, seeing that their own law was no longer in existence, the Cape Town agents fought him and his successors till they got a new ordinance from home under which the whole race was again licensed to wander at large. One effort was made to settle the best of them upon farms of their own: but the Hottentots were not farmers, and soon gave up hard work for their old pastime of living on the enforced charity of the European settlers.

Control of  
the Hot-  
tentots is  
abandoned,  
July, 1828.

In 1834 came out the first of the three great Governors, Sir Benjamin D'Urban: the first, too, of a long line of Governors whose work was to be undone and whose reputation was to be sacrificed at the bidding of irresponsible critics in England. Certainly the fate of South Africa may make us grateful that India during these years of backstairs influence was governed by a non-political Company: for every misfortune that ever came upon the Cape

D'Urban  
Governor,  
1834-6.

Colony has been a direct result of partisan pressure at home. D'Urban at once set to work to retrench the extravagant expenditure on the civil service, and to create an <sup>Retrenchment.</sup> advisory council (called by courtesy "legislative") which should at least be able to let him know what the colonists wanted. These measures gave him a popularity which stood him in good stead; for there were harder tasks before him.

Since 1658 slaves had been imported into the colony, both by the Dutch and by the <sup>Abolition of slavery, 1833 (at the Cape, 1834).</sup> British during their first occupation. They had been at first a necessity, for the Hottentots would not work: but they became less and less of a necessity as the colony grew and Kaffir labour became available. During Lord Charles Somerset's government their control was rendered much more difficult owing to the regulations made at home, which increased in complexity year by year, till at last the slave-owner had less control of his men than a manufacturer has to-day, while he was still saddled with the responsibility of keeping them. More than once, indeed, the Boer slave-owners made <sup>Boer proposals for emancipation.</sup> proposals to the Governor by which no child could in future be born a slave, so that the system must gradually die out. And when in 1833 the Imperial Parliament emancipated all slaves throughout the British dominions, the Cape



Colony at least acquiesced with a good deal of pleasure.

But the slaves, although of little use as workmen for their owners, had a money value. Being property, they had formed an important part of the security upon which money had been lent to landholders: and their total value was estimated at about three million pounds. When therefore news came from home that the compensation money would amount to not quite half that sum, that every claim must be proved in London, and that payment would be made there not in money but in Government stock, the consternation of the owners was very great. It meant just this: that the quiet old Boer farmer who had owned a few slaves worth, say, £300—and had probably got a loan for his farm on that security among others—would get at best not £300 in cash (which was the only form of money he had ever heard of) but about £125 in bonds payable in London. And to get even that much he, who had never been to Cape Town in his life, must take to London documents (which probably did not exist) to prove that he owned these slaves—slaves that had been born on his farm: and while he was away it was more than probable that the bank would foreclose on the farm for the amount lent him, seeing that slaves were no longer a security and their value had depreciated 58 per cent. Again the British Government had made its

The compensation scheme mismanaged.

favourite mistake—it had done the right thing in the most wrong-headed way possible. It had freed the slaves: but freedom was so given as to add them to the already large idle population of the colony, while the farms and vineyards were untilled for lack of labour, and half the working population was almost ruined.

So great was D'Urban's popularity that even through this time of misfortune he was able to keep the colony quiet. The Kaffirs, however, he could not keep quiet, as the Imperial Government thwarted all his plans. His scheme was borrowed, like so many others, from our experience in India: he proposed to guard the frontiers against depredation by creating a series of buffer states all along it. So far this was also the policy of the philanthropists: but whereas D'Urban saw that these states must be under British protection and guidance, the philanthropists, led by their Cape Town agent, Dr. Philip, insisted on their complete independence—which, they thought, would mean missionary control instead of official control. They found too late that it meant lawlessness and war.

D'Urban's  
Kaffir  
policy.

Real states like those of India did not exist, and D'Urban had to use what material he could get. On the Orange River he established a tribe of Griquas (half-caste Hottentots) under Waterboer, who fulfilled their work of keeping order admirably. But on the

Buffer states  
in S. Africa.  
Griqualand  
West, 1834.

eastern border the task was not so easy. Lord Charles Somerset's strip of waste land had proved of little use as a defence against the Kosas, who had never really stopped their raids on the cattle of the English settlers. Behind the strip, moreover, they had been able unnoticed to consolidate their strength. An attempt of an English garrison to recover some stolen horses gave them an excuse for a new invasion, and once again there was scarcely a white man left alive or a house standing in all the Algoa Bay district. D'Urban and his lieutenant, Colonel Harry Smith, at once hurried up all the troops and volunteer forces that could be spared, and drove the Kosas far beyond the Kei: then he set to work to form another buffer state which should guard the much-vexed eastern frontier. As in the north he had used Griquas, so here he established a large body of Fingoes on the land which had formerly been kept waste as far as the Keiskamma: beyond them he placed the more trustworthy of the Kosa clans: and over the whole of this new province to the Kei he proclaimed British authority, so that the movements of the chiefs should be carefully watched by British resident officers, while they were allowed to govern each his own clan in his own way. The Kosas were glad to be let off so lightly: the missionaries who lived among them welcomed this mild but firm control: the farmers of the eastern

Sixth Kaffir  
War,  
1834-5.

The  
Province of  
Queen  
Adelaide.

district hoped once more to live securely and at peace. But the philanthropists willed otherwise. In 1836 the whole colony stood aghast at an order from home which recalled D'Urban, annulled all his arrangements, and handed <sup>D'Urban recalled.</sup> back to the Kosas the conquered territory, to be again their base of operations against the miserable settlers.

The Boers had had enough of English rule. They trekked.

#### E. *The Great Trek.*

For twenty years they had lived under an alien government. Bit by bit they had lost their laws, their property, their language. The abolition of paper money had halved their <sup>Boer</sup> grievances. earnings, the emancipation of the slaves had halved their working capital. And now the Imperial authorities had left them open to the savageries of men on whom they were forbidden to retaliate—and had done this not from ignorance and carelessly, but deliberately and of set purpose. D'Urban they trusted—he was recalled, and his power given to men they detested, men who had falsely charged them with unheard-of crimes, bigots and slanderers at once. There was no more to be said: no appeals could be of any use: they determined to have done with the British once and for all, and to find some home far beyond the limits

of British rule where they might build up a new and independent nationality. They might think little of the Holland of 1836: but they were still of the spirit that dominated Holland in 1672, when the whole nation had been ready to take ship and go to the ends of the earth rather than submit to the rule of France.

Where should they go? There was no difficulty about the answer: the land was prepared for them, they said. Why had Tchaka desolated Natal? Why did waste lands stretch so far north beyond the Drakensberg? The Matabele and the Zulus had been instruments appointed to make ready their refuge; and, as instruments, would themselves disappear or be in some way made harmless when the warrior pilgrims entered into their predestined home. In such mood, comparing themselves to the children of Israel as they left bondage in Egypt, and gaining new courage from the comparison, band after band trekked northward from the farmlands of the coast across the Black Mountain, across the dry Karroo, over the great dividing range itself, and down the easy slopes of its northern watershed to the drifts\* of the Orange River. Once past these they felt safe, for British claims ran no further, and the Imperial Government had often refused to extend the bounds of the colony. But the appointed land was

\* Fords.

further away, and they pushed on steadily to the banks of the Vaal. There some settled, while the pioneers, led by Hendrik Potgieter, worked their way through the length of what is now the <sup>and across</sup> Transvaal, almost to the northern curve of <sup>the Vaal.</sup> the Limpopo. Returning, they found the Matabele before them, and were all but annihilated by a sudden attack of the Kaffir regiments upon their laager. New emigrant bands, under Maritz, came up to their help. Without a moment's doubt they marched three hundred miles over the devastated country and surprised the nearest Matabele kraal, driving their opponents before them like antelopes. Then they marched back to their settlement, welcomed yet another band of their countrymen under Retief, and drew up the constitution of the new State. It is significant that one of the oaths exacted from every present or future member of the Boer republic was "I will have nothing to do with the London Missionary Society." Their capital, as became conquerors, they named Winburg; and the land between it and the Vaal River was soon covered with the farms of Potgieter's men. Once more they marched against Moselekatze, a hundred and thirty-five of them against twelve thousand. For nine days they kept his regiments at bay, never wasting a shot; until the Matabele chief, worn down by the dourness of these unsubduable farmers, fled with all his tribe to regions beyond the Limpopo, and

Beginnings  
of the  
Orange  
Free State.  
Assembly at  
Winburg,  
June 6,  
1837.

The  
Matabele  
driven from  
the Trans-  
vaal.

left his three hundred thousand square miles of wilderness to be once more the abode of free men.

Retief had in the meantime gone down into Natal, and made arrangements with Dingaan by which his

The Boers in Natal.  
Massacre at Weenen. party was to be given the waste lands there for a settlement. But when they came the treacherous Zulu assassinated Retief himself and massacred every white man he could

catch unawares. The first Boer attempt at vengeance only brought upon them another severe defeat in an ambushade, while a helping force of Natal Kaffirs, led by a few Englishmen from the port at D'Urban,\* was destroyed after desperate fighting. Eight months afterwards almost to the day, under a new leader, the statesman Pretorius, the Boer army of five hundred men took a complete revenge for Retief's murder in

Dingaan's Day, Dec. 16, 1838. a battle fought on the Blood River against twelve thousand men of Dingaan's best regiments. The tyrant himself was chased into the mountains after firing his own capital, and the Zulus never again for forty years dared face a Boer army. Still their power for mischief was not yet quite broken: and when Panda, Dingaan's half-brother, offered to become the Boers' friend and vassal if they would help him to the throne, Pretorius accepted the offer readily. But his actual help was

\* This little English settlement dated from 1824, and had in 1835 petitioned to be made a British colony: but after the defeat mentioned above the survivors handed over their territorial rights to the Boers.

not required : Panda's Kaffirs met Dingaan's men in a fiercely contested battle, and when in the thick of the fight a cry was raised that the Boers were coming the Zulu forces broke and fled. Dingaan fled again to the mountains and was killed there.

A second time, then, had the voortrekkers\* destroyed a power within whose borders no peace could exist, no human being could feel secure. By the force of their courage another fertile province had passed from death to life. Nor was their statesmanship at that time inferior to their skill in war. From the St. John's River to the Tugela, a region almost empty of human life, they proclaimed a white man's republic ; north of the Tugela they left the Zulu clans under their new king Panda, insisting only that they should quit fighting and settle down to a peaceful life—a command all the more easy to enforce because the veteran regiments had perished in the last great battle. It was a wise and a generous arrangement.

But their inveterate enemies still pursued them. News went home to England that bodies of rebel Boers had stolen away from the Cape Colony and were massacring natives in Natal. The word "natives" was enough ; the whole

Jan. 30,  
1840.

Boer  
Republic in  
Natal.

Interference  
from  
England.

\* Lit., Forerunners, pioneers ; a name given to the first bands of Boer emigrants.



body of philanthropists was up in arms at once. They knew nothing—they cared nothing—about the difference between a Matabele and a Bechuana. They pictured the Zulu as a mild, inoffensive, and downtrodden black man looking in vain to his trusted missionary for help against the fiendish Boer. They had yet to learn that Dingaan had kept his missionary as a useful decoy duck for other white men whose goods he wanted, and had not scrupled to kill Retief in his presence. We know that Dingaan's Day saw a greater victory, and a finer, than Plassey; in England, at the time, they thought of it as a viler thing than the Black Hole. An order came out that the Boers must be driven back into the Cape Colony, and Sir George Napier, seeing that this was impossible, interpreted it as an authorization to annex Natal. This was done without much difficulty, in spite of a very vigorous resistance on the part of Pretorius; for Boer statesmanship had broken down, as it has done ever since when it had to face the details of internal government.

The proclamation of British authority was followed by a complete reversal of Pretorius' policy towards the natives. The Zulus, pushed back beyond the Buffalo River, were told to go and manage themselves as they liked, so long as they did not worry the English settlers in Natal. One can hardly wonder that Panda at once set to work to build up again the regimental system

The old  
non-inter-  
vention  
native  
policy re-  
vived.

which the Boers had broken down. What Panda began Cetywayo improved on, and the work of Dingaan's Day had to be done all over again at Ulundi. To Natal itself the change of policy did irreparable mischief. When Retief entered it it was No-Man's Land ; nor had the Bantu tribes, themselves but, recent invaders, more right to re-occupy it than the Boers who made life in it possible. Morally, as well as by right of conquest, it was white man's land ; but the British public and the philanthropists had other ideas. The southern half of it was given to the Pondos, the northern was thrown open to miscellaneous fragments of Bantu clans, and the chance of establishing a genuinely English colony on the most fertile land in South Africa was lost for ever.

Natal  
becomes  
a Kaffir  
reserve.

As for the conquerors of Dingaan, they asked only one question. They were offered their own laws, their own courts, their own language, their own system of local government. They said "Are Kaffirs to be allowed back?" and, getting their answer, refused to stay in Natal. Back went their waggons over the passes, and they settled down north of the Vaal.

The Boers  
go back to  
the interior.

#### F. *The Shaping of South Africa.*

The Governor who had this unpleasant work to do was D'Urban's successor, Sir George Napier, who now

proceeded to carry out in full Dr. Philip's policy of independent states. The Pondos were thus established in southern Natal ; and from their mountain border the Basuto chief Moshesh was given an enlargement of territory. The gap between his boundary and that of the Griquas under Waterboer was filled by the creation of a second Griqua state under Adam Kok : and Napier felt for the moment that he had skilfully managed both to protect the Cape Colony and to cut the Boers off from civilization and the sea. His successors paid dearly for his skill. The white farmers north of the Orange River scoffed at the idea of obeying a half-caste puppet like Adam Kok. The Bantu clans of the Upper Caledon refused to be handed over as a free gift to Moshesh. And while Governor Maitland was vainly trying to set matters right in the north, the Kosas continually harried the colony's eastern borders with the utmost contempt for the shillyshallying officials of Britain. They had done so, in fact, ever since D'Urban's recall : and after ten years of this torment the unfortunate English settlers round Algoa Bay found themselves once more in the midst of a barbarous Kaffir invasion. By this time wiser counsels had begun to prevail with Imperial Government : the absolutism of the the abstract philanthropists was nearly over, and even their pet Governor, Sir George Napier, owned that

Sir G.  
Napier  
Governor,  
1836-44.

More  
buffer-  
states:

Pondoland,  
1844,

Rasutoland,  
1843,

and  
Adam Kok's  
reserves,  
1843.

The policy  
fails.

Sir P.  
Maitland  
Governor,  
1844-6.

Seventh  
Kaffir war,  
1846.

D'Urban's policy had been the right one. It was ten years too late for South African union, but there was still time to recover much lost ground, when the news came to Cape Town that Sir Harry Smith\* had been appointed to the Governorship of the colony.

Sir Harry  
Smith  
Governor,  
1847-52.

At last South Africa was governed by a man who knew it, and the change of policy was immediate. The Eastern Province (between Kei and Keiskamma) was re-annexed on D'Urban's conditions. Adam Kok was left to rule his Griquas in a reserve of his own: Moshesh found himself again confined to the land occupied by his Basutos. The land thus restored, and all that surrounded it between the Orange and the Vaal, was made a new colony, the Orange River Sovereignty, under direct British rule. There was an attempt made by the Boers of the north, with Pretorius as their leader, to upset this arrangement: but after a defeat at Boomplaatz, and the discovery that most of the Sovereignty farmers preferred annexation by an old friend like Sir Harry Smith, they retired across the Vaal and were left there in peace.

The native  
tribes put  
under  
control.

The Orange  
River Sov-  
ereignty,  
Feb. 3,  
1848.

Boom-  
plaatz,  
Aug. 29.

One more Kaffir invasion—the last and the worst—imperilled for a time all Sir Harry Smith's arrangements, for it was complicated by a simultaneous war with

Eighth  
Kaffir war,  
1850-2.

First  
Basuto  
war,  
1851-2.

\* D'Urban's right-hand man in 1835.

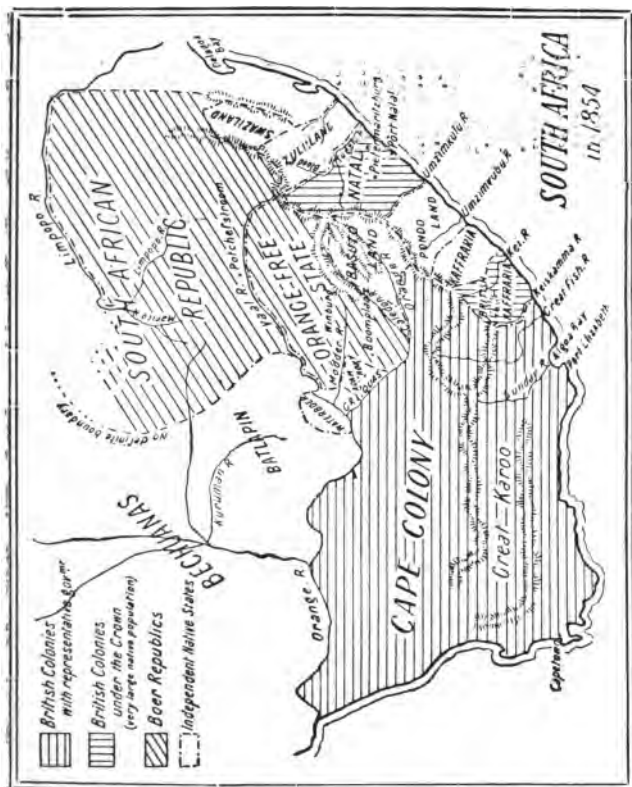
Sir G.  
Cathcart  
Governor,  
1852-4. Moshesh. But the next Governor, Sir George Cathcart, was worthy of his predecessors. By 1853 he had at last settled the eastern border, rewarding our friends the Fingoes with valuable land taken from the rebel tribes. Moshesh he restrained for the time rather by tact than by actual victory. The Transvaal Boers, whose leader

The  
Sand River  
Convention,  
Feb. 17,  
1852. Pretorius had diplomatically refrained from interfering in the Basuto war, were rewarded with a formal acknowledgment of their independence. Then came fresh instruc-

tions from home. The Imperial Government had spent a great deal over the last two Kaffir wars: it was not disposed to open up a fresh source of expense in Basuto wars. Nor was it at all anxious for large possessions in South Africa—the days were at hand when it would be considered a burden to have colonies at all. So it was decided to let the Orange

The Orange  
River Sov-  
ereignty is  
abandoned  
by Britain, River Sovereignty go, and a special commissioner was sent out to see it done. There has been no more curious episode, one thinks, in British history. The farmers of

the Sovereignty clung to the Empire. "You built up," they said to the envoy, "this dangerous Basuto power: it is but fair that you should control it. Do that, and we will gladly rule ourselves: but let us always remain part of the Empire." It was useless. The envoy's instructions were to abandon the Sovereignty as soon as possible, and he even invited Boers from the Transvaal to go about preaching



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independence. This novel political campaign proved at last successful, and in 1854 the Orange Free State came into existence. and becomes the Orange Free State, Mar. 11, 1854.

In that year, therefore, South Africa was divided as follows :—

A. *The Cape Colony*, which had just been given representative government.

B. *British Kaffraria*, the Kei to Keiskamma territory—under a High Commissioner, who was also Governor of the Cape Colony.

C. *Independent Kaffraria*, the territory of the eastern Kosas and the Pondos.

D. *Natal*, under a lieutenant-governor—representative government was granted in 1856.

E. *Zululand*, independent.

F. *The Orange Free State*, a Boer republic friendly to Britain.

G. *The South African Republic*, or Transvaal, inhabited by Boers hostile to Britain.

H. *Basutoland*, under Moshesh.

I. *The Griqua* reserves on the Orange River under Adam Kok and Waterboer, and the *Batlapin* reserve on the Kuruman.

J. *Swaziland*, occupied by an independent clan of Bantus.



## CHAPTER VIII.

### BRITISH INDIA.

#### A. *Cornwallis and Reform in Bengal*

It had been the work of Warren Hastings to establish two principles of very great importance to our Indian Empire. He showed to the peoples of India that British power was unshakable: neither <sup>The lessons of Hastings' governorship.</sup> the armies of Mysore, nor the Mahratta raids, nor French intrigue, nor the quarrels in the ruling council, had been able to lessen the British Company's hold on its Indian territories. In Bengal especially the people had settled down contentedly under their new masters, and those groans of oppressed millions to which Burke and Sheridan gave so much publicity were mere stage properties invented for their use by Philip Francis. But Hastings had also convinced the English Parliament that their first efforts at Indian legislation were a lamentable failure. Dividend-making must cease to occupy the Governor-General's attention: nor must divided counsels thwart his carefully-considered policy. He must be supreme in his own Council, supreme in all three Presidencies, and responsible only to the Government of Great Britain. At last, in fact, there begins the application to our colonial policy of the one all-important

maxim of Imperial Government, "Get your good man, and once got trust him to the full"—a maxim that has never been obeyed without honour, never abandoned without failure and disgrace.

Pitt's East India Acts (whose passing is a Pitt's India Acts, 1784-6. matter rather of English politics than of colonial history) were founded on the experience of Hastings: they gave the Governor-General absolute power throughout British India in all matters of high policy, with a Council of three to advise him, but left him free to reject even their unanimous advice in an emergency, and responsible for his acts only to the Minister in whose department Indian affairs lay. The whole of the Company's affairs, moreover, were placed under the control of a board of six Commissioners appointed by the Crown. So it came about that in later years a strong Governor-General, backed by a powerful Minister, was able more than once to disregard the merely commercial aspect of his authority, to rule India in the interests of its peoples, and to enforce with a firm hand the Pax Britannica among a restless and discordant population of two hundred and more millions.

Lord Cornwallis, the first Governor under this new system, arrived in India in 1786. He had the full confidence of Pitt and Dundas, the chiefs of the Government at home. One thing only he was forbidden to do: the preamble of Pitt's Act had insisted, and the Charter-

Cornwallis  
Governor-  
General  
1786 to  
1793.

renewing Act of 1793 did but declare more formally, that "schemes of conquest and extension of dominion in India are measures repugnant alike to the wish, the honour, and the policy" of the British nation. But Cornwallis had no great liking for war, especially for wars of adventure, after his experiences in America : he preferred to take up those pressing questions of internal reform which Clive had propounded and Hastings in the midst of his worries had left half-unanswered. The directors of the Company, never disentangling themselves from their mercantile habits, still paid their officials a small salary and a large com-

He forbids  
the Com-  
pany's  
officials to  
trade,

mission on transactions passing through their hands : Cornwallis almost abolished the commission, gave them good and fixed salaries, and altogether forbade them to trade. These same officials, called collectors because their chief duty was to collect the land revenues of each district, had gradually made themselves judges in all civil and revenue cases in which natives were concerned, and were supposed to superintend the proceedings in the

and estab-  
lishes  
proper  
courts of  
justice.

native criminal courts. Cornwallis set up new civil and criminal courts, and confined the collectors to revenue work—for this, indeed, comprising as it did the regulation of taxes, the wardship of minors and lunatics among landholders, the payment of pensions, and the superintendence of the Company's own estates, in a district of more than half a million of people, was quite enough to occupy one man's attention.

But the most important of Cornwallis' measures was the Perpetual Land Settlement of Bengal.

It is a difficult thing to summarize the infinite variety of Indian land-customs : but we shall not be far wrong in saying that the underlying principle was one and the same through all the states—the land was the property of the ruler, who raised revenue from its occupants by a tax in the nature of rent. The farmer did not understand freehold : he felt it right and respectable to pay rent to someone. But his desire was that his rent should not be capriciously raised, and that he himself should be secure from unwarranted eviction. Hence over a great part of India the actual occupants of the soil, or at least the set of villagers occupying a particular area round their village, came to look upon themselves as immovable tenants as long as they paid some sort of rent. Their possession was too often terminated by an incursion of Mahrattas : but subject to such accidents they held their own for many generations. The ruling power, Rajpoot or Mogul, dealt with them through revenue-collectors, known as *zamindars*, *talukdars*, etc., who were responsible each for the revenues of his own district, but had no legal rights over the land.

Now in Bengal, the richest province, inhabited by a less warlike race of farmers than any other and one more often conquered, this hereditary tenure for many generations

The  
Perpetual  
Settlement,  
March 22,  
1793.

Hindoo  
land-laws.

Bengal an  
exceptional  
case.

was almost non-existent. And as the ryot's hold on the land had decreased, the zamindar's had stiffened. His office too had become hereditary, and he had taken advantage of the general confusion to evict, to raise rents, to exact extra contributions on the slightest pretext, and generally to screw the last penny out of the farmer while doing nothing for the land himself. While this state of things continued the prosperity of Bengal rested on the caprice of a few hundred irresponsible natives. Cornwallis, seeing dimly that this land system did not altogether resemble the English, yet feeling (with a touch of the usual abstract politician in him) that the beautiful simplicity of our English landlord and tenant arrangement must make it the ideal for every country on earth, determined to introduce it in Bengal with such few adaptations as might be necessary. He pictured the grateful zamindar, once made owner of his tributary acres, as zealously resolving to put every penny of profit into the improvement of his property, breaking up and draining waste land, building model cottages, and generally demeaning himself as an ideal landlord. It is a peculiarity of the philanthropic Briton to have immense confidence in the virtues of every other race but his own. Against the advice of his most experienced officer, Sir John Shore, Cornwallis insisted on coming at once to a permanent arrangement. The zamindars became land-owners, paying for their land a fixed tax to the ruling power : if the property increased in value, or the

Terms of  
the Bengal  
Settlement.

currency in which the tax was paid decreased in value, it was to the zamindar's profit : if new land in his district was brought into cultivation, the whole of the new rent went into his pocket. Some few ryots who could prove a long tenure of their farms were given fixed occupancy at a fixed rent : a large number got fixed occupancy, with a rent that could be raised on appeal to the lawcourts : but the majority were really at their new landlord's mercy from year to year. The zamindar had been a hereditary tax-collector with opportunities for extortion : he became in 1793 a land-owner not quite so independent as an English squire, but much more so than an Irish landlord of to-day. And he obtained this gift without doing a hand's turn for it : he performed no duties save that of handing over to the government a continually decreasing proportion of his rents ; and he was asked to perform no others except those of keeping order in the villages (which he never did) of preventing frauds on the salt and opium revenue (but the frauds were usually of his devising), and of carrying the mails through his district on cross country roads. Everything else was done for him : the British Government protected him from Mahratta raids, the ryot cleared and filled and drained and worked his land. And the zamindar still sits and smiles at his own prosperity.

It was an experiment tried on imperfect knowledge of the facts, and made irrevocable against expert advice. It has never been repeated in its original shape outside Bengal. We can see nowadays

that a twenty—or even a ten—years' trial of the new plan would have led to valuable amendments and distributed much more fairly the increased value of Bengal land. But two of its results were so important that for them one is almost tempted to consider the whole settlement justifiable. It gave, in the first place, a great and much needed proof to the Hindoo that his new rulers were as disinterested as they were firm. Every former conqueror of Bengal had rack-rented it: but in two ways much strengthened our position in India. these latest conquerors deliberately bound themselves to abstain from any such arbitrariness. The shifty Bengali felt that he deserved to be the servant of men who kept their word against their own interests. And the settlement gave, in the second place, to the zamindars so great an interest in the maintenance of British government that the terrible year of the Mutiny hardly stirred Bengal at all. The Sepoys might mutiny in their cantonments, but beyond them they were powerless and friendless. And it is worth much revenue to have saved Patna and Dacca from the horrors of Cawnpore.

Bengal, therefore, remained undisturbed, and has practically done so ever since. But the Deccan had still problems of foreign politics to be solved. Troubles in the Deccan. Cornwallis had to face, with his hands tied, the situation which had all but mastered Warren Hastings—the balance of power between the Mah-rattas, Tippoo, and the Nizam. Tippoo, like his father,

was the actively disturbing element. He sent embassies to France and Turkey, getting from the one cautious civility, from the other empty though effusive welcome: but when he ventured on open war, the other powers of the Peninsula soon reduced him to a quiescence which chafed him. Still the English policy, both under Cornwallis and during the five years' rule of his *locum tenens*, Sir John Shore, forbade any further interference than was absolutely necessary to keep the peace. Our Governors looked on while Tippoo gathered his strength, while the Nizam (whom he allowed to be defeated by the Mahrattas) organized an army under French officers, while the Mahratta chiefs established themselves at Delhi and remodelled their armies on the European fashion. Against active French intervention only were strong measures taken. Cornwallis was as prompt to seize the French settlements in 1793 as Hastings had been fifteen years before: and Nelson's eager pursuit of Bonaparte to Egypt was chiefly due to our knowledge of French schemes for a new alliance with Tippoo.\*

Tippoo's  
embassies,  
1787.

War with  
Mysore,  
1790-92.

English  
the five

Sir John  
Shore  
Governor-  
General,  
1793-8.

War  
between  
Nizam and  
Mahrattas,  
1795.

Mahrattas  
in Delhi.

Bonaparte  
in Egypt,  
1798-9.

#### B. Wellesley creates our Indian Empire.

On the very day when Tippoo heard that that alliance had been concluded—not by Bonaparte,

\* Bonaparte wrote to Tippoo from Cairo in 1799, promising him "release from the iron yoke of the English."



Treaty  
between  
Tippoo and  
the French,  
May 17,  
1798.  
Wellesley  
Governor-  
General,  
1798-1805.

but by the Governor of Mauritius—one of India's greatest Governors - General landed at Madras. Richard Wellesley, Lord Mornington (he won in India his better known title of the Marquess Wellesley), was the eldest of four distinguished brothers.

William (Lord Maryborough) became a successful politician : Henry (Lord Cowley) a famous diplomatist : Arthur we know as the "Great Duke" of Wellington. Richard, to whom his brothers owed their first opportunities of distinction, surpassed them all in the variety of his genius : he was strategist and statesman too—which Wellington never was—and he had that far-reaching, all-grasping conception of the problems of empire, that eagle's view, which makes it no flattery to call such a man Imperial. For him as for his better known brother India was to be the training-ground on which they learnt how to defeat Napoleon : Waterloo may have been won on the playing-fields at Eton, but the Peninsular War (which was Wellesley's war as much as Wellington's) was more certainly a result of that victorious pro-consulate with which we have now to deal.

The times were favourable to an energetic ruler. The acquittal of Warren Hastings after his long agony had silenced the Little-England party of those days : and any war in India was merely a part of the all-pervading war with France, still dear to the nation's heart. Wellesley, moreover, had the support of Dundas, the responsible

Warren  
Hastings  
acquitted,  
1795.

minister for Indian affairs : and he knew that, whatever defeat or reverses might bring, Dundas was not the man to betray a victorious friend. He made up his mind to be victorious, and (having thus secured ministerial support) to neglect and defy, if necessary, the dividend-spinners of the East India Company.

Tippoo was, of course, the immediate enemy : but the English troops were in no condition for a war. Wellesley kept Tippoo employed with diplomatic correspondence while he turned sharply on the Nizam of Hyderabad and forced him to dismiss all his French officers and replace them by English ones. Tippoo took no alarm, and thought himself safe enough to become insolent. Almost in the words of a recent American humourist he bade the Governor-General "go on writing me letters—I'm always glad to know how you are."\* The reply was prompt and decisive, for Wellesley had now got his army into condition. On February 3, 1799, he began the war : in three months the English troops had twice defeated the Mysore king, driven him into his capital of Seringapatam, besieged and stormed it, and killed Tippoo himself. At home the news was scarcely believed : the glamour of the East had magnified our enemy into a second Bonaparte, and the name of his conqueror

The  
Nizam's  
French  
troops dis-  
missed,  
1798.

Last  
Mysore  
War, Feb. to  
May, 1799.

\* "Continue to allow me the pleasure of your correspondence, making me happy by accounts of your health." Tippoo to Wellesley, received Dec. 25, 1798.

was in everyone's mouth. Not undeservedly : for Wellesley's statesmanship was now proved to be in no way inferior to his generalship. His brother, Colonel Wellesley, was set to restore order. Mysore proper, Partition of Mysore. the old Hindoo kingdom which Hyder Ali had seized, was given back to the heirs of its ancient rulers. The districts bordering on Hyderabad were handed over to the Nizam, and some further west offered to the Peshwa of the Mahrattas if he chose to abandon the French. The strongest fortresses, and the whole sea coast of Tippoo's dominions, remained in English hands, a sure guarantee against further disturbance in the south of the peninsula. The whole presidency of Madras became at once as tranquil as Bengal. Praises poured in upon the victor from all Anglo-India, from the Company, from Parliament, and (his greatest delight) from the Army—which rarely cares to admit that it has been led to conquest by a civilian. The House of Commons, that in 1793 had denounced any further extension of dominion, was for the first time stirred into an acknowledgment in so many words of “The British Empire in India.”

In was in this partition of Mysore that Wellesley first showed his plan of consolidating our supremacy.

The new policy of subsidiary treaties. The “buffer-state” principle had been found unsatisfactory. It had not actually broken down : Oudh and Hyderabad had served their turn in keeping the Afghans and the Mahrattas at a distance while we learnt how to rule Bengal and

Madras. But we were now strong enough to defend ourselves, and native states (as the Nizam's case had shown) were not by any means trustworthy allies in time of danger. Wellesley therefore decided to reverse completely the policy of his predecessors, to encircle the allied states with a ring of English possessions, and to let all possible inroads on the utmost borders of our jurisdiction break themselves against an immovable barrier of British troops. To secure the territories required for this scheme of defence he had recourse to his classical learning.

Greek history tells us how the League of Delos between independent Greek states was converted into the empire of Athens. It was provided in the League that each state should con-<sup>A parallel from Greek history.</sup> tribute so many ships to the common Navy.

Presently the smaller states, being lazy, made an agreement with Athens that she, who had the machinery at command, should supply the necessary ships at a cheaper rate, so that all they need do was to pay her the cost. A little later it was found that the League's navy was overwhelmingly Athenian, and that the smaller states were practically paying tribute to their wiser neighbour.

That way the course of our Indian policy had long been trending, and Wellesley took every advantage of the trend. The Nizam in Hyderabad, the Nawabs of the Carnatic and Tanjore, the<sup>The policy carried out, 1800-1.</sup> Nawab of Oudh, had bound themselves to the Company, some to keep up an army for mutual

defence against outside attacks, some to grant subsidies for the maintenance of the Company's troops for the same purpose. Wellesley induced them all to accept British troops: and because they complained of the cost of maintenance he at once offered to take over certain districts of their territory and subsidize the regiments himself from the revenues of those districts. In the case of the two smaller states, whose rulers had treacherously intrigued with Tippoo, practically the whole territory passed under British control. Hyderabad gave up the districts taken from Mysore: Oudh surrendered Rohilkhund and the Jumna-Ganges strip. The ceded districts soon became the home of an industrious and unworried population: and the work entailed on English officials in putting down local tyranny and extortion is sufficient evidence of the good done by the new policy.

By 1802 the ring-fence was almost complete.\* The <sup>Wellesley's</sup> coast-line was in British hands from Goa <sup>India.</sup> to Chittagong. The Jumna formed our north-western frontier against the Mahrattas. Mysore, Travancore, and Oudh, each completely shut in by British territory, were more or less prosperous under native rulers. The Madras and Bengal presidencies were tranquilly developing their resources behind Wellesley's impregnable shield. Even the Nizam, still exposed on one frontier to Mahratta raids, feared them little since a British garrison had been assigned for his defence. The Mahratta powers alone were

\* See map, page 345.

capable of disturbing the peace : and they held a position which gave them great advantages, while their complete exclusion from the most fertile scenes of their former raids made them every day more eager for an open and exterminating war.

The Mahratta confederacy was fast breaking up into hostile states.\* The Peshwa, formerly undisputed leader of the whole clan, was now merely one among five important chiefs. He ruled in Poona with less authority, if anything, than that exercised by Sindhia at Delhi, by Holkar at Indore, by Bhonsla in Berar, and by the Gaikwar in Baroda. There were repeated quarrels, especially between Holkar and Sindhia : and when, near the end of 1802, Holkar routed both Sindhia and the Peshwa under the walls of Poona, Wellesley saw that his opportunity was come. He made with the defeated Peshwa a treaty like those with the Nizam and the Nawab Vizier : British troops were in future to guarantee his authority in Poona, and Mahratta territory was ceded to pay for their support. Arthur Wellesley, now a General, conducted our new ally back to his capital.

Disunion  
among the  
Mahrattas.

Treaty of  
Bassein,  
1802.

Two only of the chiefs took immediate alarm. Sindhia, smarting under one defeat and sure that he had now lost all his influence over the Peshwa, united with Bhonsla of Berar and threatened the Hyderabad

\* For a vivid picture of this period, read Hockley's "Pandurang Hari."

frontier. Holkar sulked, and the Gaikwar was won over by astute diplomacy to become an ally of the English and to cede the whole coast-line of the Gulf of Cambay. But any delay might see the end of Holkar's ill-temper. Wellesley determined

War with  
Napoleon,  
April, 1803.

Mahratta  
war, Aug. to  
Dec., 1803.

Assaye,  
Sept. 23.

Argaon,  
Nov. 29.

to strike at once. His brother advanced from Poona against the combined armies on the Hyderabad border, and routed ten times his number at Assaye. Two months after he met at Argaon all the troops that Bhonsla could rally, and broke them to pieces. On the 17th December

Bhonsla signed the usual treaty, and the Deccan war was soon over. In the north events moved no less rapidly. General Lake stormed Aligarh on September

Delhi,  
Sept. 11.  
Laswari,  
Nov. 1.

4, defeated Sindhia's northern army a week later, occupied Delhi and Agra, and broke up Sindhia's reserves at Laswari as completely as his colleague did Bhonsla's at Argaon. Sindhia signed his treaty on December 30.

The war had lasted less than six months, and Wellesley had attained every object he had aimed at.

Results of  
the war.

The last of the French officers in native employ had disappeared from India: there was no corner of the coast left on which a Frenchman could land. Delhi, and the last of the Mogul Emperors, and all the weight of undefined authority that the Mogul name still bore in India, were from henceforth on the English side. From Cutch to

Chittagong, from the Suttlej to Cape Comorin, Britain was paramount and incontestably sovereign.

So at least it seemed to the great Proconsul for a few short months of 1804. So it would have been, but for the unexpected faint-heartedness of British officers, and the usual <sup>Wellesley is not backed up.</sup> fickleness of politicians at home. Wellesley

had argued right from the first. Victories and successes could induce Dundas and his successor, Castlereagh, to back up the Governor-General against all attacks from the Company's directors: but victories and successes alone could do it. While they lasted, the directors themselves could only alternate irritating votes of censure with abject requests to him not to resign. But the first reverse was fatal. This imperious man, nominally <sup>Friction between the Governor-General and the Directors.</sup> their servant, overwhelmed them in great matters and annoyed them in small. Their interests were bound up with monopoly:

he was all for free trade.\* They headed a close corporation of officials: he brought in from wherever he could find them the men best able to do his work. They counted every penny of his salary and allowances: he lived among the princes he had conquered in Eastern state and ceremony, the master of an Empire, not merely the managing director of a firm. They sent out half-educated boys of eighteen to take in their hands the lives and fortunes

\* *i.e.*, the liberty of all British subjects to trade in India, not of the E.I.C. only.



of perhaps half a million natives : when Wellesley proposed to educate them for their duties, the directors snubbed and insulted him. His brothers especially were marks for their attack : they reduced Arthur's allowance when he was commanding in Mysore, and demanded Henry's dismissal while he was reforming Oudh. They were honourable men in private life—they may even have been amiable : but they treated Wellesley as if he were a cross between Richard III. and Jack Sheppard. His outlook covered half the world, and they thought he was trying to fill his pockets. Bottom on Pegasus could not have kicked his ribs more uselessly, or have been more horribly afraid all the time of a sudden fall.

The reverse came. Holkar, the one Mahratta chief still unsubdued, recovered soon enough from his sulks when he saw his compatriots go down like ninepins. In April, 1804, the war against him began, Lake moving from Delhi and Murray from Goojerat against the Malwa lands. But Holkar had kept to the traditions of his forefathers, and did not believe in the regular European-drilled standing armies which had led Sindhia and Bhonsla to their ruin. They were strong weapons, it is true, and hard to beat down : but, once broken, they had no rallying power. Laswari and Argaon would have been less decisive against the old hordes of roving Mahratta horse-

The war  
breaks out  
again, April,  
1804.

men: and in such hordes Holkar placed his chief reliance. Murray and Monson (Lake's second in command) found no one to fight, but were constantly harassed by troops of light horse. They retreated in opposite directions over swollen rivers during the rains; and Monson's force was a mere rabble before it reached Agra.

Monson's  
retreat,  
July 8—  
Aug. 31.

The disaster was quickly retrieved. Murray plucked up courage to seize Indore while Holkar was in pursuit of Monson, and the chief himself, after a fierce battle at Deig, was driven into the Punjab and forced at last to sign a treaty parallel with those of his fellow-chiefs. But the one defeat had done all the mischief: Wellesley was recalled, Cornwallis sent out in haste to take over the government, the treaties with Sindhia and Holkar were cancelled, and the policy of the eagle thrown aside for the policy of the snail. Cornwallis died within three months of his arrival, and the local official who took his place sympathized with the dividend-requirers. They could not for shame abandon the territories which Wellesley had actually given them: but they drew a sharp line at the British frontiers, and left Sindhia and Holkar and the chiefs of Rajpootana and the Pindhari freebooters to tear each other to pieces in the lands beyond the pale.

Deig,  
Nov. 13.

Cornwallis  
returns,  
July 30,  
1805: dies on  
Oct. 5.

Barlow  
Deputy-  
Governor,  
1805-7.

*C. Wellesley's system completed.*

Yet however much the East India Company might desire to isolate its possessions and its affairs in Asia, the isolation could only be local and temporary. It was not dangerous, but only selfish, to let Rajpootana stew in its own juice now that the Wellesleys had broken the Mahratta power: but new foes were being stirred up not very far away by the greatest enemy of all—Napoleon, whom from first to last the Wellesleys knew as *the* enemy, whose intrigues they were thwarting at Assaye no less than they destroyed his plans at Torres Vedras and at Waterloo. In 1805 a French embassy was at Teheran: in 1807 Napoleon was urging his new ally, the Emperor of Russia, to take part in a joint expedition through Turkey and Persia against British India. Lord Minto, the new Viceroy, sent out counter-embassies in hot haste. Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler at Lahore—the Ameers of Sind—Shah Soojah of Afghanistan—and the Shah of Persia—were all besieged with offers of alliance: but the danger was averted by other means (yet by the Wellesleys\* again) when the Peninsular War fastened itself like a leech on Napoleon's Empire and drained it to the point of exhaustion.

Danger  
from  
Napoleon's  
schemes.

Peace of  
Tilsit,  
1807.

Lord Minto  
Governor-  
General,  
1807-13.

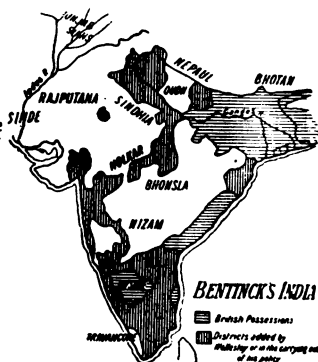
\* Three this time: for Henry was Ambassador to Spain while the Marquess was Foreign Secretary.

So British India settled down to a slow but steady progress. The last years of Napoleonic war made it inaccessible to enemies from the sea: the, Cape of Good Hope and Mauritius passed finally under British rule, and the French were ejected from their latest conquest, Java. In 1813 the periodical renewal of the Company's charter by Parliament led to the throwing open of Indian trade to all British subjects, the Company retaining only the monopoly of trade with China. So step by step the rulers of India proceeded along the path which the Great Marquess had laid down for them: and by 1818 he was able to rejoice in the complete carrying out of his great scheme of Indian pacification.

The Cape  
taken, 1806.  
Mauritius  
taken, 1810.  
Java taken,  
1811.

Lord  
Hastings  
Governor-  
General,  
1813-23.

For the chaos beyond the pale was stirring and breaking its bounds, and out of the turmoil came indignant complaints—"In India there has always been some dominant power to protect quiet people against banditti: you English have seized the supremacy, and have no right to shirk your duty as protectors." The appeal was en-



phasized by an attempted revolt of the Peshwa and other Mahratta chiefs whose treaties still held good : and Lord Hastings took the opportunity to deal with the whole trouble in one scheme. The revolt was sternly put down : the Peshwa was deposed and his dominions annexed : the remains of the Mahratta confederacy, together with the kingdoms of Rajpootana, were put under the British protectorate : and the freebooting Pindhari bands were destroyed out of the land.

Last Mah-  
ratta War,  
1817-18.

All these roundings off of the British frontier were bringing us face to face with a number of independent kingdoms on the outskirts of India, which had sprung up about the time of our own first victories there. In the years immediately following 1757 four dynasties were establishing themselves in the Indian border-lands.

The border states, The Ghoorkas made themselves a kingdom in the Himalayan valleys of Nepaul. Alompra had added to his petty chieftainship in Upper Burma all the Lower Irrawadi and Salwen and the coast-lands below Chittagong as far as Martaban. The Durani chiefs laid hold on Afghanistan, and forced it like a kicking mule into harness. And clans, of whom we have already spoken,\* drew together on the Upper Indus, till under Ranjit Singh they occupied Kashmir

\* Pp. 174, 189.

and drove the Afghans from Peshawur into the hills of the Soliman Range. The Afghans and Sikhs were our natural friends, securing our north-western frontier from invasion by land: their bitter hatred of each other—Mohammedan and strict Hindoo—freed us from fear of a hostile combination between them: and when the embassy of 1808 had arranged with Ranjit Singh a mutual frontier on the Sutlej our outlook in that direction was undisturbed. But in 1814 the Ghoorkas encroached on Bengal, and the first of our hill-wars was needed to bring them to reason.

War with  
Nepaul,  
1814-16.

The western end of their state was ceded, bringing British dominion to the summit of the Himalayas: but no subsidiary treaty was imposed, and independent Nepaul has been ever since our staunch friend and the nursery of some of our best Indian regiments.

The Burmese attacked us next, probably the least intelligent enemies we had faced since Plassey. Practically ignorant of European warfare, they thrust against us north-westward through the hills of Manipoor, and infringed on our coast-line in the Bay of Bengal. Lord Amherst wasted no time on border skirmishes, but struck at the heart of the Burmese Empire, forcing a passage up the Irrawadi to the capital at Ava. The expedition was ill-equipped and managed, but it was a success. Assam became British, and all the Bay of Bengal

Lord Am-  
herst  
Governor-  
General,  
1823-8.

First Bur-  
mese War,  
1826.

coast-line as far south as Tenasserim. There was peace again through the Empire, which nothing could disturb but the advance of a hostile Empire against our frontiers on the north-west.

*D. Bentinck and Internal Reform.*

The twelve years of peace which followed the Burmese war gave occasion for the work of another great Governor-General. When Wellesley in 1804 was at the height of his power, he received from the Governor of Madras a letter full of admiration for "the system which has founded British greatness upon Indian happiness." Twenty-four years later the writer of that letter, taking up Wellesley's office, set himself to complete by a wise scheme of internal reforms the system which he had so much admired. And when his seven years' work was over, it was with the consenting voice of British and natives alike that Macaulay (happier when he praises than when he blames our Indian rulers) could dedicate a statue

Bentinck  
Governor-  
General,  
1828-34.

Macaulay's  
eulogy of  
him.

TO

WILLIAM CAVENDISH BENTINCK,

WHO INFUSED INTO ORIENTAL DESPOTISM THE  
SPIRIT OF BRITISH FREEDOM :

WHO NEVER FORGOT THAT THE END OF GOVERNMENT  
IS THE HAPPINESS OF THE GOVERNED :

WHO ABOLISHED CRUEL RITES :

WHO EFFACED HUMILIATING DISTINCTIONS:  
 WHO GAVE LIBERTY TO THE EXPRESSION OF  
 PUBLIC OPINION:  
 WHOSE CONSTANT STUDY IT WAS TO ELEVATE THE  
 INTELLECTUAL AND MORAL CHARACTER OF  
 THE NATION COMMITTED TO HIS  
 CHARGE.

When we make allowance for the traditional pomposity of inscriptions and for such expressions as represent the political philosophy of that day, we find in this dedication a carefully correct account of Bentinck's work in India. His Governor-Generalship coincides with our English epoch of Reform, the belated revival in Britain of those abstract ideas of government on which the French Revolution had based itself. The philosopher before he becomes a politician is the most uncompromising of reformers: he abhors monopolies, he shudders at enforced discipline, he has a stock of capital letters for the glorification of Right and Reason. To him such rule as the Company's was in India is almost unthinkable. Its monopoly of the China trade—its wars with Nepaul and Burma (about which the abstract philosopher would know nothing except that they were successful, and would assuredly infer that they were wrong)—its edicts for the better government of a subject population, on which that population could not so

The  
Epoch of  
Reform.

The  
Company's  
charter in  
danger.



much as vote—were all crimes which cried out for its instant abolition. And while Parliament might be trusted to modify this philosophic severity for British use, the directors of the Company were quite aware that no Ministry would hesitate to sacrifice them, if terms could thus be made with the reformers. The Company's only chance of continued existence was to emphasize, before its Charter came up for renewal, the peaceful, prosperous, and humanitarian nature of its government: and Bentinck was selected to produce this effect.

They builded better than they knew. Bentinck had quite enough sympathy with the party of reform to take every opportunity of applying its principles to Indian politics: while his previous experience of the natives in Madras taught him how inapplicable those principles must be in their crude philosophic form. During the first years of his rule he confined himself to the careful supervision of the machinery already at his disposal. He cut down the exorbitant pay of the military officers, economized in the land administration, and reorganized the local Courts of Justice. But in doing this he was able to introduce quietly one most important alteration in the details of government; he entrusted the simpler tasks of office to the natives themselves. It was a step hardly

Bentinck  
a judicious  
reformer.

He brings  
natives into  
the Civil  
Service.

possible at any previous period, when the memories of native administration and native justice in the days of Clive and Verelst would have been strong in the Anglo-Indian mind. But fifty years of British rule had done something to raise the native standard in these matters—so far at least, that under strict European supervision a few of them might be trusted to deal fairly with their countrymen, and to relieve trained and valuable English servants of the Company from the drearier routine work of the departments. The Directors approved this step because it was cheap, the Reformers because it savoured of the rights of man; for Bentinck it was the beginning of a new India, more trustworthy because more self-reliant—for even under the most benevolent of despotisms it ruins a man to do nothing for himself.

It was partly the popularity which this measure gained for Bentinck among the Hindoos that enabled him to carry out two great acts of interference with their religious cruelties, the suppression of the Thugs\* and the abolition of Suttce. In the first matter the great difficulty was to secure united action: the Thug bands had pursued their career of pious and profitable murder all over Central India, with branches in Oudh and the Deccan, and only the co-operation of several native States with the British Government could thoroughly dishearten and crush them.

He suppresses the Thugs, 1829-35,

\* Pronounced *Tugs*. There is no *Tā* sound in Hindostani.

Still, united action once secured, the rest was comparatively easy; murder was the Thugs' religion rather than that of their victims—piety is at a discount when it involves the right of someone else to strangle the devotee. But Suttee was a different thing; the piety which demands that someone else should kill herself for the devotee's benefit is likely to be popular and often bigoted. From time immemorial widows had been burnt on their husbands' funeral pyres. The very name, Suttee, denoted the virtue of the victim. The Company's officials, rightly careful to respect Hindoo religious traditions, had sometimes ignored the custom and sometimes tried to regulate it. Governor after Governor was horrified at its brutality, but feared still more the possibility of a revolt among the high-caste Sepoys of the Bengal army. It occurred to Bentinck to enquire whether the Sepoys were after all so much attached to this rite; and when the answer came that it was almost unknown among them, Suttee was doomed. The Bengalis submitted with very little trouble; they did indeed appeal to the Privy Council, but yielded at once to the adverse decision of that body; and British officers were no longer required to sanction a barbarity which the French and Dutch had never permitted within the bounds of their pettier jurisdictions.

The extension of the land-settlements beyond Bengal was another work begun under Ben-

tinck's direction. In the North-West Provinces, where he set his officials at work, the worst difficulties of the situation in Bengal were not repeated. In Bengal the ryots were many-times-conquered Hindoos, the zamindars were mostly the descendants of foreign adventurers, and the true successions of ownership were inextricably confused. But around Delhi and on the Upper Ganges ryot and zamindar alike were, as a rule, Mahomedan and of Mogul descent; the titles to land, not reaching back so far as on the lower river, were clearer because the pre-Mogul population had been to a large extent exiled or extirpated; and the zamindars, being more directly under the monarch's eye, had found less opportunity of exalting themselves from rent-collector to owner. Land-settlements, therefore, in these districts had surer facts for their foundation, and their devisers had the great mistake of Cornwallis always before them for a warning. What Bentinck began was gradually copied all over British India; for though Madras and Bombay had made experiments of their own, there was still much room for improvement. The ryot himself in some districts, the village-community of ryots in many others, were treated as direct tenants of the Crown, and the rent was settled with them subject to periodical and impartial revision.

But the most important work of Bentinck's administration came towards its close. In 1833,

The  
Charter of  
1833. after a three years' investigation into the Company's mercantile and political

business, Parliament renewed its charter for another twenty years. Such at least is the official record: the plain man would describe the act as a metamorphosis of the Company. Certainly the butterfly is not more unlike the grub than was the Company of 1834 unlike the Company of 1784. Not only the China trade, but all mercantile work of every kind, was taken from this renovated body. Bentinck's rule had proved more successful than the directors wished. He had convinced the British public not only that the Company would rule India on the most humanitarian principles, but that under its rule India could pay its own way without being subsidized from the profits of the China trade. "Your administration is good," Parliament practically said, "your trade is precarious: permit us to relieve you of the sordid cares of dividend-making, that your whole attention may be given to that task of governing which you even now so admirably perform."

This altered position of the Company's servants, who were henceforth to govern India entirely for its own benefit without a thought of trade, gave Bentinck the opportunity he had been looking for. From that time the admission of natives to the greater part of the Civil Service became merely a question of fitness. It will long remain so: it takes more

English  
becomes the  
official  
language of  
India.

than a century of even British supervision to breed a Bengali fit for great command. But even the first steps in that direction were almost impossible while the natives spoke some Hindoo dialect only, while lawyers argued in Persian and civil servants wrote minutes in elaborate English. By a resolution of March 7, 1835, the brains as well as the swords of all India were placed at the disposal of the Indian Government. English became the official language: European literature and science, unrepresented in the multitude of Eastern languages, which had not even the words wherewith to translate them, were given for food to brains no less subtle than those of mediæval schoolmen: and Bentinck and Macaulay, for the time being a member of his Council, became the fathers of an Indian Renaissance that is still in progress.

#### E. Wars Again.

The conditions under which Bentinck had been sent out debarred him from any interference with the protected native states. For the epoch of Reform Warren Hastings was an able tyrant: and James Mill, the vilifier of many great Anglo-Indians, had kindly patronised the latest Governor-General as a humanitarian ruler. From Hyderabad and Oudh was taken even such small control as had been customary,—the population being thus abandoned to a native tyranny which Dalhousie

The native states again left to themselves.

in later years had to suppress, and whose suppression had much to do with the Mutiny. In Mysore the natives rose against the barbarities of their ruler, and would not be pacified till they were incorporated with the British dominions.\*

There are three well marked eras in the history of our Indian Empire. It begins with forty years of competitive conquest, during which France was our eager and dangerous opponent in the struggle for dominion. Forty years followed, during which the French danger paled and vanished, and British authority was established over the greater part of geographical India without any interference from outside. And then from landward, across the deserts and the mountain ranges of our north-western frontier, loomed up the shadow of a more gigantic rival, of whom little was understood and nothing could be predicted but unremitting progress and increasing power. Russia has become much more commonplace to our modern statesmen : we have come to see that a great deal of her advance in Central Asia is merely the counterpart of ours in India—except in so far as Russia does not thwart her Clives and her Wellesleys. But for many years men watched her with bitter anxiety, as in the night one dimly watches a rising flood : to many an Indian statesman she was an impending darkness that might be felt.

The three  
ages of  
British  
India.

The  
advance  
of Russia.

\* Mysore was restored to a better native ruler in 1881.

When Bentinck arrived in India the Russian advance had begun. A treaty with Persia had confirmed Russian influence in that state, and its first result was a threatened Persian attack on Herat. It was of immediate importance to strengthen our hold on the buffer states in that direction: and Bentinck initiated the policy, which Lord Auckland carried out more fully, of combining with Ranjit Singh and the Ameers of Sind to establish a firm and friendly government in Afghanistan. That country was for the time ruled by Dost Mahomed, the son of a former prime minister, who had expelled the legitimate heir Shah Soojah. In 1837 it was learnt that he had received Russian agents at his court, and Lord Auckland at once marched a British army through Sind upon Kandahar and replaced Shah Soojah on the throne. For two years we kept him there: but in Afghanistan there is no long rule for a weakling, branded with the stigma of former defeat, and still further discredited by the acceptance of foreign support. Moreover our army of occupation had to draw its supplies by the devious route through Sind, as the Sikhs (on the direct route) were unwilling to let us cross their territory—were, indeed, none too friendly allies. Presently Dost Mahomed's son, Akbar Khan, stirred up the tribes round Kabul: the British Resident there lost his head, tried to improve matters by treachery, and was murdered with

Persian  
siege of  
Herat,  
1837.

Lord  
Auckland  
Governor-  
General,  
1836-42.

The first  
Afghan war,  
1838.

Burnes and  
Macnaghten  
murdered  
at Kabul,  
1841.



equal treachery : the small British army, which could have held its own as a much later one did inside the great citadel, was led out to a hopeless retreat by an incompetent general—and one man reached in safety the nearest British garrison at Jelalabad. To leave the Afghans flushed with such triumph would have been dangerous in the extreme : an army marched from Kandahar, another forced its way from Peshawur to Kabul, and Dost Mahomed, although replaced upon the throne, had learnt wisdom enough to understand that Britain could reach him through all his mountain-barriers and all his wild hill-tribes.

Second  
Afghan  
War,  
1841-2.  
Massacre  
in the  
Khoord-  
Kabul Pass,  
Jan. 8,  
1842.  
Kabul re-  
captured by  
Pollock,  
Sept. 15.

These disturbances were the beginning of new wars within Hindostan itself. Ranjit Singh died in 1839, and the Sikhs grew restless. The heirs of Sindhia at Gwalior incited his army to open mutiny. The Ameers of Sind lagged somewhat in their prompt obedience to the Governor-General's demands. Lord Ellenborough suspected treachery on all sides : he crushed the Gwalior army, which deserved it, and forcibly annexed Sind, whose rulers had not merited such treatment. Before he could deal with the Sikhs he was recalled, and left this last great conquest to his successor, Sir Henry Hardinge.

Ranjit  
Singh dies,  
June 27,  
1839.  
Lord Ellen-  
borough  
Governor-  
General,  
1842-4.  
Sind  
annexed,  
1843.  
Lord  
Hardinge  
Governor-  
General,  
1844-8.

The Punjab was bubbling over with anarchy. Six years of assassination had placed on the throne an

infant whom his mother declared to be the son of Ranjit Singh. The mother was regent, her favourite was her prime minister: but the only power in the state was the army, an organization of Hindoo religious zealots as stark in fight as Cromwell's Ironsides, and as fiercely fanatic as Mahomed's first Arabs. Already this "army of the Khalsa"\* was preparing to destroy the band of intriguers at Lahore when their general, himself one of the band, astutely turned their rage upon the British outside their borders. But Hardinge had foreseen an invasion, and met the Sikhs at Moodki—a hardly won battle, which, followed by a still more desperate one at Ferozeshah, induced them to retire within their own territory. When in a month they broke out again, Hardinge's heavy guns had arrived, and two more fierce battles at Aliwal and Sobraon tamed even these hardy foes. The British army occupied Lahore: a council of Sikh nobles was set up to act as Regent during the boy-prince's minority: Sir Henry Lawrence was appointed British Resident: the Khalsa was reduced to a third of its former numbers, and deprived of nearly all its artillery: Kashmir was detached from Sikh rule and given to a local chief under British suzerainty, while a small strip in the east of the Punjab was

First  
Sikh  
War,  
1845-6.

Moodki,  
Dec. 18,  
1845.  
Ferozeshah,  
Dec. 21-2.

Aliwal, Jan.  
28, 1846.  
Sobraon,  
Feb. 10.  
Lahore  
occupied,  
Feb. 20.

Kashmir  
becomes  
separate  
state under  
British  
suzerainty,  
March 16.

\* "Saved Ones."

added to the British dominions : and Lord Hardinge, when he left India after four years of hard work, assured his successor that "it would not be necessary to fire a gun in India for seven years to come."

F. *Dalhousie.*

Fortunately for the Empire, that successor was the Marquess of Dalhousie. Hastings had made us secure in India, Wellesley had made us paramount : for Dalhousie it was reserved to round off our territory, to make us protectors as well of the people as of their rulers, and to settle not only the administrative but the industrial development of India along lines which it follows steadily at the present moment. If British India now reaches from Chitral to the Mekong, it is because Dalhousie *of set policy* extended it from Peshawur to Pegu. If the peoples of India seem within measurable distance of becoming the Indian people, it is because with roads and canals and railways and telegraphs he bound firmly together the cumbrous ill-cohering mass, and by sharp lessons in Oudh and Berar and Nagpoor taught princes and subjects alike that under British protection only wise and benevolent systems of government can dare to hope for existence.

Dalhousie landed at Calcutta on the 12th January, 1848, to receive from Hardinge a welcome that ended with the words already quoted. Barely three months later the Punjab was all aflame again. The Sikh governor of Mooltan, a great market

Dalhousie  
Governor-  
General,  
1848-56.  
  
Second Sikh  
War,  
1848-9.

town on the Jhelum, was called upon to send in his financial report, and in default offered to resign. But when two British officers were sent by the Regency to take over his governorship he had them treacherously murdered and broke into open rebellion. Lord Gough, the British commander-in-chief, refused to march during the hot weather, and Dalhousie was not yet experienced enough in Indian matters to over-rule his decision. But a young English subaltern in charge of a small post on the Indus had heard the news also : hastily he got together a few hundred men and marched upon Mooltan, meeting on his way the rebel with a ten times larger army. "Like a terrier barking at a tiger," to use his own words, Edwardes throughout the long summer faced and mastered the growing forces of rebellion, till he had driven them back into Mooltan and held them cooped up there. Lord Gough stayed at Simla and worked out plans of what he would do in the winter. Suddenly he found the whole Sikh nation in arms against him, and behind the Sikhs their hitherto mortal enemies the Afghan tribesmen. He decided to reinforce the besiegers of Mooltan, and his reinforcements arrived just in time for a much more hurried retreat. Dalhousie lost patience, and with 17,000 new troops rushed in person to the Punjab frontier.

Rebellion at  
Mooltan,  
April 19,  
1848.

Herbert  
Edwardes'  
campaign  
on the  
Indus.

The  
Sikhs rise,  
and seek  
alliance  
with the  
Afghans.

The siege of Mooltan was resumed, and the town taken : Lord Gough, spurred into a rashness scarcely

Capture of Mooltan, Jan. 29, 1849. Chillanwala, Jan. 13. Goojrat, Feb. 20. less dangerous than his former apathy, flung his army against the Sikhs to gain doubtful victories with enormous loss, till the all-but-disaster of Chilianwala sobered him. Then, mustering his whole strength of 24,000 men, he

moved steadily upon the massed Sikh armies at Goojrat, where they awaited their Afghan allies. No manner of defeat could have impressed them more. It was a full-dress battle from the first, with every possible effect of artillery duel and charging cavalry and the unbroken orderly advance of British infantry—a fair fight on a fair field ending in a fairly acknowledged victory. The defeated

The Sikh army surrenders at Rawul Pindi, Mar. 12. troops were never allowed to rally: and when, three weeks afterwards, the last men of the Khalsa heaped their arms in front of the British line, they almost forgot their defeat in delighted laughter as they heard of the laggards from Afghanistan, who had ridden like lions out of their hills only to be hunted back into them at the lance-point like curs.

Such a conquest of the Punjab was brilliant: the settlement which followed was more than worthy of it. What his brothers were to Dalhousie's settlement of the Punjab. Wellesley, that the Lawrences were to Dalhousie. Under Hardinge they had been the uncontrolled wielders of British influence in the Sikh state: the new ruler at once confirmed and controlled their power. Henry Lawrence directed the politics, and his brother John the

finance, of the new province: it was Dalhousie who created and regulated the system which they so strenuously and successfully administered. The new frontier was defended by forts and roads, and the raiding Pathan tribes confronted by a body of troops as mobile as their own. The soldiers of the Khalsa were proud to be re-enlisted among the regiments that had so well beaten them. The mass of the nation was disarmed: its turbulent rulers were given merely "their lives and their subsistence": but the taxes were lightened and made more even, State forests, State canals, State roads were laid out over the whole province, and the last of British conquests became in a very short time the best managed, most trustworthy, and most loyal of the British possessions in India.

The Punjab  
Frontier  
Force  
established.

Three years after the annexation of the Punjab another war broke out at the opposite end of the Empire. The Burmese king in his isolation at Ava had never understood the strength of those armies against which his troops had broken themselves in 1825. The usurper who succeeded him outdid him, as *parvenus* will, in insults to the British Resident and outrages on traders. Dalhousie found his demands for redress met with studied brutality, and prepared war at once. His clear eye mastered the whole situation—the deadliness of the climate, which was the

Second  
Burmese  
War,  
1852-3.

army's chief danger, the conceit of the Burmese that would acknowledge no conquest except a permanent annexation. Everything was provided for beforehand : not a life was lost that any care could save. The Burmese were driven from Rangoon, and the river opened as far as Prome : Ava was left untouched, because we were not yet prepared to annex it : but as far as British arms had penetrated the country was taken over, and Pegu became a part of our dominions.

Rangoon  
captured,  
Apr. 12,  
1852.

Peace with  
Burma,  
June 30,  
1853.

Almost more important than these external additions to the Indian Empire were the provinces already within its bounds which now passed under direct British rule. According to Wellesley's policy, which had remained unaltered in its main lines for forty years, our actual possessions formed a protecting shell round the less solid coagulations of the great native states. Some of these, Hyderabad for instance and Oudh and many chieftainships of Rajpootana, had been states before we came to India : but a very large number, especially in the Mahratta country, were creations of our own. When a ruler died, his offspring naturally succeeded : but if, as often happened, he had no direct descendants, the custom of India, handed down for centuries, was clear as to what followed. To supply the lack

Dalhousie's  
native  
policy.

The  
question of  
adoption.

heirs he might at any time before death adopt anyone he pleased, and the adopted son inherited without a doubt the whole of his private property : but the throne he did not inherit, unless the paramount Power had consented to his adoption. Territory thus left kingless passed directly into the hands of the paramount Power, which could appoint a new ruler or take over the control itself as might seem best.

The British Government had been unsystematic in its use of this power. Some districts had been absorbed, others had been again and again handed to natives of its own selection. But the scandal of native rule was becoming unbearable. Left to themselves, the Rajas and Nawabs <sup>Native states very badly governed.</sup> would have been treated with a kind of rough justice : the strong men would have founded dynasties, their weaker successors would have been ousted by their prime ministers (as among the Mahrattas) or their generals (as in Mysore). British supremacy, however, had altered all that. Safe behind the guarantee of quiet possession which we gave to all chiefs within our boundary, ruler after ruler gave himself up to luxurious living and the vilest oppression of his subjects. In Nagpoor the Raja "lived and died a seller of justice, a drunkard, a debauchee." The Nawab of Oudh was, if possible, more barbarous and more licentious. The Nizam was not much better. And



the minor princes copied faithfully the vices of their greater exemplars.

Dalhousie saw at once the disease and its remedy. The law about adoption was a weapon with which he could fight this evil, and prove to the world that we were the protectors of the Indian peoples, not of their rulers only. In state after state, as the succession fell vacant, he claimed the rights of the paramount Power: and so marked an improvement followed on annexation that one prince at least refused to adopt at all, in order that his people might pass under British rule. Among many smaller districts the important kingdom of Nagpoor passed under this law into the hands of the British Government.

Dependent  
native  
states an-  
nexed as  
they fall in:

Sattara in  
1849,

Sambalpur  
in 1851,

Jhansi in  
1853,

Nagpoor in  
1854.

The sovereign states were differently treated. Nothing endangers the value of a good principle like straining it, and Dalhousie was the last to commit that mistake. Wherever in such cases a failure of heirs seemed probable, every encouragement was given to the reigning power to adopt the most promising of his relatives: and if no adoption was made, still a new native ruler was appointed. But flagrant misgovernment was dealt with as it deserved. The Nizam, whose faults were rather of waste than of cruelty, ceded the Berar districts

But  
sovereign  
states are  
not an-  
nexed,

in lieu of pay for his subsidiary troops. The King of Oudh, the most abandoned of all native potentates, was treated with more severity. Four times\* within the last twenty years he had been warned that if there was any more anarchy and misrule the British Government would take over his kingdom. Every warning had been unheeded. Dalhousie gave him five years more, and then proposed his removal from all share in the government of his kingdom. The home authorities were sterner still : neither power nor the emptiest shadow of authority must be left him : and almost the last act of Dalhousie's administration was to depose the miserable tyrant and add Oudh to the Indian Empire.

except Oudh, whose king's rule was disgracefully bad.



Oudh annexed, Feb. 13, 1856.

But in so enlarging this Empire, Dalhousie had completely altered its character. As he had taken it over, it was a chain of scattered territories

\* In 1831, 1837, 1847, and 1849.

These changes consolidate India. mainly bordering on the sea, and all defensible therefrom. Buffer states of more or less strength divided it from Russia on the north-west and China on the north-east: and no other land-power in Asia was strong enough to undertake an invasion. As he left it, it was a much more solid mass of territory, much of which was a thousand miles from the sea-coast: Russia was one remove nearer, China was on our Burmese border. The centre of gravity had passed from Bengal to Delhi. But the mass needed binding together: and Dalhousie set himself to do it. He had been President of the Board of Trade in England, and had seen the sudden expansion of the English railway systems: there was the instrument ready to his hand. What he had done in the Punjab he set himself to do all over India. Dalhousie opens up the country and begins to unify it. With roads and canals he opened up the inland districts. He freed the ports, surveyed the coasts, and improved the harbours of the long coast-line. He built the first railways, and laid down the plan on which all railway-making in the Peninsula has since proceeded. He threaded India across and across with telegraph wires. And while new engineering schools arose to train the men who should work out his plans, he found time to encourage and to back with all his power and influence the man who created India's gigantic system of modern education.

Such a man, so indefatigable, so resourceful, was the wisest of all Indian rulers, the second founder of our Empire there. The child cost its parent's life; but though he lies buried in Scotland, his abiding memorial is oversea. "*Si monumentum quæris, circumspice*" might be written on the Simla hills: our India of to-day commemorates the genius and the greatness of Dalhousie.

#### G. *The Mutiny.*

Not yet, however, was peace fully come to this land of many wars. Between the Company's India, with its "Brahminized" officials and restless feudatories, and the strong coherent British India of to-day there stands the horror of the Great Mutiny.

Lord  
Canning  
Governor-  
General,  
1856-62.

The East breeds tigers as well as elephants: the Mutiny was the tiger's last fierce leap at his hunters, when his claws strike deep in the howdah that carries them. For many hundred years India had been dominated by armed forces for the benefit of their leaders; it had been the prey of rival conquerors and contending religions. British rule had disarmed the rivals, and was extending to all religions that toleration which each sect claims as its own right and grudges as a concession to others. But this had been done by the help of another armed force, mainly native: and the weapon we had forged was now to be turned against us by the powers we had subdued.

The tiger's  
last leap.

The Indian Empire of Britain, it has been said already, resembles in many ways the Empire of Rome. It is a commonplace in Roman history that empire-making ruined the Republic: the standing armies that conquered Spain and Gaul and Asia Minor and Syria chafed under civilian rule, and in the end made their generals masters of Rome. To such a temper the Sepoy troops in India had come during Dalhousie's administration. They had been during the last ten years victorious over Afghans, Beloochis, Sikhs, and Burmese: they had fought side by side with the best regiments of the British army, and had not suffered in the comparison. They were puffed up with pride, and ready on any excuse to assert their strength. And among them, in the later days of the great Marquess, came

The danger of a victorious mercenary army.

intriguers who represented the two most famous names of the days before Clive and Wellesley. From Delhi the sons of the last Mogul emperor passed to and fro among the Mahommedans of the Company's army: from Bithoor Nana Sahib, the adopted son of the last Peshwa, furious because

The intrigues of Mogul and Mahratta pretenders.

a pension of £80,000 had lapsed at the Peshwa's death, sent out emissaries over Central India, reminding his Hindoo co-religionists of the glories of the Mahratta confederacy. Then Oudh was annexed, and the processes of survey and settlement began.

The ferment in Oudh.

The ryots, ground down under the vile rule of the deposed king, found themselves reinstated as land-owners: the talukdars, who during that time of oppression had made themselves masters of the land they taxed, began to feel their gains slipping from them. Oudh was the principal recruiting-ground of the Sepoy army, and the recruits were mostly relatives of the talukdar class. From Peshawur to Calcutta their leaders determined on revolt.

They went cannily to work. The whole native army must be brought into the plot, and given some more practical motive for mutiny than the glories of their ancestors or the grievances of the Oudh aristocracy. The non-fighting population must be won over if possible, or at least terrified into quiescence. So religion was utilized, and the Eastern belief in omens. Tales of a wonderful prophecy spread through India: the stars had declared that the Company's raj should cease after a hundred years, and the centenary of Plassey was close at hand. Moreover it was time for the people to rise, if they would not all be made Christians: the railroads and the telegraph wires were magical chains to bind the country, and enforce a general baptism. With such talk the ryots were kept expectant and uneasy: for soldiers

The conspirators work on the superstitions of their countrymen.

The 'hundred years' prophecy.

Compulsory Christianity.

there was worse news. To compel them to Christianity the English had cunningly devised a plan by which every Hindoo Sepoy would lose caste, every Mahommedan become impure : the new cartridges were greased with a mixture of cows' and pigs' fat,\* so that both religions would be simultaneously violated. Furthermore—and this was Nana Sahib's special argument—the English nation was in sore straits at home. His agent had been to the Crimea during the Russian war, and brought back tales of British losses and sufferings; two regiments of white troops had been moved from India to the Crimea, and five were away in Persia, while a Chinese war called for more. Everything, said the plotters, called for instant action : they could save their yet unpolluted caste, regain for their friends their confiscated property, and rushing against a weakened and divided enemy, with the might of prophecy to strengthen them, thrust the intruding English back into the sea from which they had come.

The  
greased  
cartridges.

Rumours  
from the  
Crimean  
war.

War with  
Persia,  
1856-7.

But it is hard in any conspiracy to make sure that everyone shall do his part at the same moment : with Sepoy conspirators, scattered

\* This was unfortunately a fact (though the alleged motive was of course non-existent), and the denial of it in all good faith by British officers shook the native trust in our honour.

over a million square miles of country, the task is impossible. Mutiny began close to Calcutta: the mutinous regiment was disbanded, and every ex-private became a sower of sedition along his way home to Oudh. Then came the news that at Meerut, the headquarters of the whole native army, men had refused to receive the new cartridges. They were imprisoned: their comrades rose, shot down their white officers, released the prisoners, and marched off to Delhi, where they fetched out the old Mogul emperor and proclaimed him once more Lord of India. Three native regiments at Delhi joined them, and the townfolk turned to the work of massacring Europeans. The Great Mutiny had begun.

The plot foiled by premature risings.

Mutiny at Barrack-poor, Mar. 29, 1857:

at Meerut, May 10:

at Delhi, May 11.

The Meerut Sepoys had broken out too early, but their comrades followed them at once. All over the North-West Provinces native regiments shot their officers and marched to Delhi, and more poured in from stations in Bundelkhund, south of the Jumna. The Oudh talukdars called their retainers together and joined the rebellion, and the regiments there rose to meet them. Troops from Gwalior came in, in spite of Sindhia's loyalty, and some marched half across Rajpootana from our isolated domain of Ajmere. The Europeans were driven for refuge into three strong forts—at Lucknow in Oudh, at Agra, and

Oudh rises, May 30.



at Cawnpore. All else between the Punjab and Bengal was a chaos of massacre and anarchy.

But the Meerut Sepoys had after all saved India. Quickly as news flies in that country, the telegraph wires had outstripped it, and warned every officer in the Punjab that mutiny had begun. The Punjab garrisons were part of the regular native army—not Sikhs—and were implicated in the conspiracy: but when

But the Punjab is kept under control.

those surprised and unready troops tried to imitate their comrades of the Ganges valley, they found themselves faced by British regiments and cannon and were forced to disarm at once. One or two bodies at isolated

Sepoys there disarmed, May 12-15.

stations broke away towards Delhi: but their British officers promptly raised Sikh levies and cut the rebels to pieces. And then this newly-won province proved worthy of its conqueror's care. So loyal were the Sikhs, so true to the rulers they trusted, so eager to help in the crushing of this revolt, that John Lawrence was able to send down regiment after regiment of British, levy after levy of Sikh warriors, battery after battery of artillery, to where on the ridges

John Nicholson.

Siege of Delhi, June 8-Sept. 13.

Taking of Delhi, Sept. 14-19.

north of Delhi the British commander threatened the treacherous city. For three months he hung there, immovable against attack, gathering his forces for a decisive blow: then by a week of battery and six days of desperate street fighting Delhi was won

and the Mutiny as an organized rebellion ceased to exist.

But much had happened during the long delay. Three main motives, it will be remembered, had inspired the rebellion—Mogul influence, Mahratta influence, and the complaints of the Oudh aristocracy. Delhi was the Mogul centre: the hopes of the Mahratta rebels were centred in Nana Sahib. When regiment after regiment set out towards Delhi, he caught the Cawnpore troops and brought them back to besiege the fort they had abandoned. After three weeks the little garrison, encumbered with women and children, surrendered on a promise of safe conduct to Allahabad: the Nana provided boats for their transport, and as they embarked opened a fire on them which killed nearly every man in the party, while the 122 women and children who survived were imprisoned and kept for a worse fate.

Surrender  
and massacre  
of the  
Cawnpore  
garrison,  
June 27.

Meanwhile from Bengal the Governor-General, Lord Canning, was sending up regiments as fast as possible to the revolted districts. But he had twice the distance to send them, and very few were at hand: most had to be fetched from Burma and Madras and even Bombay—for in the Deccan Presidencies there was hardly a sign of mutiny. At last, however, a column under Havelock moved upon Cawnpore, and in two sharp fights broke the Nana's forces:

The  
advance  
from  
Bengal.

but fast as he fled he could still spare time for more slaughter, and the rescuing troops found no English women alive in prison, but only gashed and tortured bodies thrown hurriedly into a deep well. In calmer days men have condemned the ferocity with which our troops flung themselves, giving no quarter, upon the defeated mutineers: but calm and mildness was difficult to those who had seen the well at Cawnpore.

Second  
Cawnpore  
massacre,  
July 16.

Havelock had no time to spare for pity. Thirty-six miles away another British garrison was desperately defending its cantonments at Lucknow. His second attempt to force his way through the besieging army was successful; but the rebels simply shut him in with the other defenders, and went on with the siege. He had, however, left troops enough to hold Cawnpore: and by this time Delhi was taken, and a detachment of the victorious troops marched thence upon Cawnpore also, relieving Agra by the way. So that by the middle of October the rebellion was cut in

Relief of  
Agra,  
Oct. 10.

half, and British armies held the line of the Ganges from end to end. A new commander-in-chief, Sir Colin Campbell, had arrived from England with twenty thousand fresh troops at his back. The two halves of the rebellion were forced further and further asunder. Sir Colin Campbell himself

Sir Colin  
Campbell  
reaches  
Calcutta.

Second  
relief of  
Lucknow,  
Nov. 19.

headed the army that first rescued the Lucknow garrison, and later on stormed the city and hammered the Oudh Sepoys into submission. The Mahratta Sepoys, strengthened for a time by a mutiny among Sindhia's troops and the accession of the army of Jhansi under its fierce princess, were a second time routed near Cawnpore, and scattered over the native states of Central India : and Sir Hugh Rose, flashing like a thunderbolt from fortress to fortress, destroyed throughout that rugged country the last vestiges of resistance. Some few fled northwards across the Nepaul border, and found the Ghoorkas as pitiless to them in their own country as they had been in our avenging armies. The Great Mutiny was over.

The city  
stormed,  
Mar. 6-21,  
1858.

Dec. 6,  
1857.

Rose's cam-  
paign in  
Central  
India,  
Jan. to June,  
1858.

It was a high price to pay—but to the Mutiny Britain owes two splendid assurances. We know, for one thing, that the breed has not failed. The names that we know best of the Mutiny heroes—Havelock, Nicholson, Outram, Lawrence, Kavanagh — are after all only types of a thousand others. Over a million square miles of country white men were scattered, a few here, a few there, isolated among rebels or would-be rebels : and every station had its list of brave men, whom Britain in 1856 knew as promising officers, and in 1858 as heroes. If

The  
lessons of  
the Mutiny.

ever such a stress is laid on the Empire again, we may be no less sure that the heroism is there.

And we know one thing more, less stirring perhaps but more valuable. We know that before the Mutiny began we had conquered India, not by arms alone, but by force of fine government. For the Mutiny was not an *Indian* Mutiny at all: it was a mutiny of Ganges Valley Sepoys, the representatives of an old military aristocracy. They caught us at a disadvantage: they were successful enough at first to give every disaffected native throughout the Peninsula a chance of joining the revolt. And yet the mutineers were strictly left to themselves. Apart from the retainers

The mass of the natives was on our side. of the Oudh nobles, their own countrymen let them pass through in a terrified but hostile silence. We put down the Mutiny, as we had conquered the country, with the encouragement and the help of the native states. Sindhia, though his men mutinied at last, yet held them quiet till the greatest danger was over. Our old foe Dost Mahomed in the north-west stood by his treaties when the fanatics of Kabul were furious for a dash at Peshawur. From Hyderabad the same news came—the mollahs preached, but the State stood firm, and the Hyderabad Contingent did splendid service with Sir Hugh Rose. The Nepaulese army came pounding down through Oudh to the storm of Lucknow: “Jung Bahadur would be driven wild,” wrote Lord Canning, “to

find himself deprived of a share in the work." And so India is ours to-day because it has wished to be ours.

The air was clear after the storm, and men could think out problems of state with minds unclouded by the prejudices of the past. Then we saw the cumbrous com-  
The East India Company disappears.  
plications of the old regime in India—the dead hand of the East India Company moved, marionette-like, by a half-hidden Board of Control. It had been a drama—with a tragic fifth act—in which the prompter's voice was too much heard. But now all the pretence was swept away. The stars had given the company a hundred years of rule: they were only sixteen months  
India comes under the Crown.  
out, for on November 1, 1858, the Queen's proclamation was issued at Allahabad. Due in part to the Queen's own initiative, it nobly summed up the noblest aspect of British dominion. Absolute religious toleration: the maintenance of all existing rights and treaties: a law which should be the righteous development of ancient usage: administration by the best men without fear or favour: justice on murderers, and an amnesty to all others who had been misled by ambitious princes—this was the message of Britain to its Indian Empire. And if assurance were needed that such a message was not empty words, it was given when the last Governor-General of the Company became the first Viceroy of the Queen.

A notable Frenchman lately characterized the British quality as "firm shoulders ready to stand the weight of great responsibility." Lord Canning was just such a Briton. The ghastliness of the Mutiny drove men blood-mad: against the fiends who surrounded Nana Sahib no measures seemed too brutal: and no one who did not see Cawnpore and its victims has a right to condemn the avengers of Cawnpore. But it was well for Britain—for the Empire and for the nation—that behind the avengers there sat the judge. Unmoved, outwardly at least, in the days of stormiest excitement, Canning is among modern Englishmen preëminently the great Roman type of the *Iustum et tenacem propositi virum*: nor can there be in the wildest days to come a surer law for our rulers than words he wrote in the perilous year,—

"I will not govern in anger. Justice, and that as stern, as inflexible as law and might can make it, I will deal out. But I will never allow an angry and indiscriminating act or word to proceed from the Government of India as long as I am responsible for it."

## CHAPTER IX.

### RECENT DEVELOPMENTS.

#### A. *The Dominion of Canada.*

When Canada once attained practical self-government, she became rapidly more prosperous and more important. The forests of Ontario disappeared, to give place to fertile farms and growing towns: those of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick sent out larger fleets yearly to the fisheries and the markets of the world. Presently the maritime provinces began to feel that they would be stronger if united, and held a conference at Charlottetown to discuss a scheme of federation. In Canada proper the refusal of French-speaking Quebec to allow Ontario, now the more populous district, a proportional preponderance in the joint Legislature so embittered the usual party-fights as to make government almost impossible: a remedy was needed which would restore to each district the management of its own affairs, without dissolving the union between them which was of such use against attacks from the south—for the United States, both before and after their own Civil War, were unmistakably anxious to annex the Canadian provinces. The two movements (Ontario-Quebec and maritime) soon

Movements  
towards  
confederation.

Sept. 1,  
1864.



coalesced: a Quebec convention drew up a  
 Oct. 10-28. Federal scheme, which was adopted by three  
 of the Legislatures concerned; a second conference,  
 held in London at the end of 1866, amended the  
 scheme in detail (mostly financial), and early in the  
 next year an Act of the Imperial Parliament pro-  
 claimed the Dominion of Canada. New  
 The Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Ontario, and  
 Dominion Act of 1867. Quebec were from the first integral parts of  
 the new federation. Each retained self-government  
 in local matters: all joined in obeying a central  
 government with nominee Senate and elected  
 Assembly. In the Assembly Quebec was given 65  
 members, and the other provinces are represented by  
 numbers proportioned to their population: in the  
 Senate Quebec and Ontario have each 24 nominees,  
 and the rest (at first 24, now 30) are divided propor-  
 tionally among the smaller states.

The Dominion once formed, it became an important  
 matter to extend its bounds. Newfoundland and  
 Prince Edward Island had been represented  
 Accessions to the Dominion. at the Quebec conference, but declined to  
 go further in the matter: the smaller island  
 came in through straitened finances during 1873, the  
 larger still remains outside. Far more important to  
 the welfare of Canada was the admission of the great  
 North-West and of British Columbia. The latter,  
 which in 1866 had been united with Vancouver  
 Island, was attracted in 1871 by a promise of the

Canadian Pacific Railway : to the former a little more space is due.

Amid a good many changes of fortune during the years when Canada was French, the English contention had always been that Hudson's Bay and the river-valleys near its shores were independent possessions of an English chartered company. Consequently, when the whole of Canada was ceded to Britain, the Hudson's Bay Company kept its own fur-trading district intact, perhaps enlarging its bounds a little, while a new Canadian company was formed by some Scottish traders to work the country further back from headquarters on Lake Superior. The rivals naturally quarrelled, and the debatable land which both claimed was found in the Nelson River valley, where their lines of operation intersected. Thither in 1811 the Earl of Selkirk transferred about a hundred emigrants from his own and neighbouring estates in Scotland. The North-West Company, strong in its Canadian connections,\* pillaged and burnt their farms ; the Hudson's Bay Company brought them back and helped them to repair the damage. Actual war presently broke out between the Companies, and the Métis (French-Indian half-breeds) of the newer body eagerly raided the forts of the older one and destroyed Selkirk's little colony altogether. Selkirk was compelled to take the law

The  
Hudson's  
Bay  
Company.

The  
North-West  
Company.

The  
Selkirk  
Settlement.

\* It was backed by the Family Compact.

into his own hands, arrest some of the North-West officials at Fort William, and reëstablish his own settlers on the site of the present city of Winnipeg: the British Parliament took up his cause, and compelled the two Companies to amalgamate on terms which really swallowed up the newer in the older Winnipeg at last got its chance of quiet progress, and the Métis settled down a little way off on the River Assiniboine.

During the long peace which followed the Hudson's Bay Company bought out Lord Selkirk and added his colony to its own domain, thus simplifying matters when Canada wished to annex the North-West territory. This was done in 1869, the Company selling all its properties to the Dominion for three hundred thousand pounds and a good deal of land to be surveyed later in blocks. The Dominion Government was to settle any claims of Indians to land. Unfortunately Canadian officials were sent into the new country before it was finally handed over: the Company's officers were sulky, the Winnipeg men a little hurt at being thus bought and sold, and the Métis put in extravagant claims for land on the ground of their Indian descent. A leader for the malcontents quickly made his appearance: Louis Riel, a young French-Canadian, formed a Provisional Government, which included another French-Canadian, a discontented Scot, and an American Fenian, and proclaimed Rupertsland and the North-West an independent colony. This

step alienated most of his Winnipeg supporters, whereupon he arrested all who prominently opposed him, and finally shot one of them after a packed court-martial.

Canada was at once in a blaze of excitement. Ontario cried out for vengeance: in Quebec Riel found a large body of supporters. The Imperial Government, which was still in control of the rebellious district (for the Dominion had refused to take it over till the rebellion was put down), sent off Colonel Wolseley with about 1200 men to restore order. But before he could reach Winnipeg the Catholic Archbishop of the district had mastered the violence of Riel and his party: peace was restored, and Wolseley's arrival ended the rebellion at once by frightening the Provisional Government over the border. An Act of the Dominion Parliament gave the Red River district responsible government as the Province of Manitoba, and its Lieutenant-Governor was made ruler of the still unorganised North-West.

Now Canada set about her promised work of settling the Indian claims. By seven treaties, concluded between 1871 and 1877, the whole country as far west as the Rocky Mountains and as far north as the Great Slave Lake was thrown open to white men's settlement, Indian reserves being marked out at the rate of a square mile for every five persons—about seven thousand square miles in

all. Even the intractable Blackfeet, the terror of American settlers across the border, agreed quietly to a treaty which they have ever since faithfully observed; and when other bodies of Indians came north, driven from their old hunting grounds because white tourists were shooting all the buffalo, successful efforts were made to establish them as farmers on Canadian soil.

After many delays and some talk of jobbery the Canadian Pacific Railway was taken steadily in hand, and carried past Winnipeg to the main range at no great distance from the United States border-line. This was a bitter disappointment to settlers further north, especially those along the North Saskatchewan River, whose envy of Manitoba had led them to hope for a similar province of their own. Battleford was the chief British town in this district, the Métis having land further east at Batoche.

Now English and French-Canadian survey methods differ a good deal, as one may see at a glance by comparing the shapes of counties in Ontario and Quebec: an English farm is laid out in broad oblongs, as nearly square as may be, while the French have a preference for narrow river frontages and great depths.\* The Batoche Métis were consequently much aggrieved about the new surveys, which had been made English fashion: and it unluckily struck the good people of Battleford that

\* Ten chain frontages and two miles of depth were th Batoche farmers' choice.

another half-breed revolution might give them the constitution which, they argued, Riel's had given Manitoba. It was playing with fire. The second Riel rebellion. The Batoche men caught eagerly at the suggestion and got Riel back from exile to lead them: he hurried matters on, intrigued with the Cree Indians of the neighbourhood, formed a half-breed Provisional Government, threatened the English with a war of extermination, and finally announced himself both king and prophet of a Métis nation with a new half-breed religion to match. This time war broke out in earnest. The half-breeds defeated bodies of mounted police, their Indian allies massacred missionaries, and Riel's military leader, Dumont, for a time checked the advance of four thousand militia under General Middleton. But the Blackfeet, the really formidable Indian clan, did not stir: Middleton captured the insurgents' capital, Batoche, at the point of the bayonet: a young Canadian, Colonel Otter, dispersed the Indians who were attacking Battleford: the rebellion collapsed, and Riel was caught, tried for high treason, and hanged. For a short time his fate renewed the racial troubles in Eastern Canada, but no longer with the old vehemence and the old accompaniment of demands for independence: and since then Canada has seemed bent on distinguishing itself Imperial Canada. among great British colonies by its unswerving and practical loyalty, that sent Canadians up the Nile with Wolseley in 1885, and to-day is binding itself still closer to the mother country with tariffs

deliberately designed to keep Canadian markets for British merchandise.\*

### B. *The Indian Empire.*

Since India was taken under the direct guardianship of the British nation its rulers have been constantly on the defensive—strengthening its frontier against Russia on the west, maintaining its trade against France on the east, and by steady

The  
defence of  
India.

persistence in Dalhousie's policy fighting a worse enemy than either Russia or France—

the famines that periodically devastate great tracts of the Imperial domain. One result of all these contests has been the unifying of India as a self-supporting country. In 1867 the coast province of Orissa lost a

Famines.

quarter of its population by famine simply because it was isolated from the rest of the country by bad roads and a harbourless shore-line.

In 1897 the worst famine of the century, one which a hundred years ago would have left the Upper Ganges valley a desert, has been rendered comparatively harmless because the surplus products of the Deccan have found easy railroad transit through the forests and mountains of Central India, and so have been available to feed millions of starving people throughout the North-West Provinces. Irrigation, too, which

\* As these pages are passing through the press news comes that the mother country has well responded by abandoning commercial treaties with Belgium and Germany, which might have interfered with the Canadian scheme.

Dalhousie first systematized in the Punjab, has been spread over every badly-watered district of British India : and one of our last engineering feats, typical of many hundreds that one hears nothing of, has been the tunnelling of the Western Ghauts to divert one of their westerly-running rivers on to the drier plains around Madura.

The  
Periyar  
Tunnel.

Imbedded in the mass of territory which British officials govern directly lie nearly seven hundred states under native rulers, ranging in size from the eighty thousand square miles of <sup>The Native States.</sup> Hyderabad to the few-acre-chieftainships of Kattiawar. To every ruler, great or small, the central Government guarantees peace and the undisturbed succession of his heirs, so long as he governs his people reasonably well for a native. No prince has diplomatic relations with any other state, Indian or foreign, except Britain : none may maintain an army larger than the Viceroy has fixed for him : none may admit Europeans to live in his state without permission of the British Resident. If any prince, after repeated warnings, is obstinate in bad government, Britain will see to it that some better ruler is found : but the new one will be native like the old, for Britain annexes no longer. Each prince has at his elbow a British official, the Resident, to advise and to watch him : but the Resident has no actual power—he is rather an ambassador from the central Government with freedom to speak his mind on occasion. By his advice, by our own example in the districts we



administer, and by praise and titular honours (nowhere more valued than in India) for the prince who does his duty, we are training up the successors of Rajpoot warriors and luxurious Moguls to a life of sober, orderly, and beneficent rule.



Along the Indian borders we have had other things to do. Besides the police work of controlling frontier tribes—work that is continually going on, and scarcely noticed outside India except when some temporary reverse occurs—Viceroy after Viceroy has found himself compelled to restrain firmly the political vagaries of neighbouring states,

stirred into disaffection by the approach of French or Russian agencies. On the north we are secure enough : Nepaul is our hearty friend, the Tartars of Bhootan have learnt a sulky wisdom, and Tibet sleeps behind the impracticable Himalaya passes. On the west our Sinde frontier is neighboured by the friendly Beloochis, won over to us by the fine tact and resolution of Sir Robert Sandeman : and where the hills run corner-wise to command the Kandahar road, British troops guard Quetta, and a railway has tunnelled the dividing range to Chaman on the Afghan border. Afghanistan itself, parted from the Punjab by a strip of wild country with wilder inhabitants between Musa Khel and Swat, has drawn as close to us under its present ruler as a native state can do that is fiercely jealous of its independence. And the line ends amid the bastions of the Hindoo Koosh, where posts at Chitral and Gilgit guard the Pamir passes, and the tangled valleys of Kashmir are at last opening themselves to civilization.

More than diplomacy was needed before the Afghans decided to look to India rather than to Russia for alliance. Dost Mahomed, dying in 1863, Afghan  
affairs. left his unruly kingdom to a younger son, Sher Ali. It took him five years to make good his position, and he was bitterly disappointed that Britain had remained neutral throughout the contest. Russia, moreover, was sheltering his most dangerous rival, his nephew Abdur Rahman, and he hoped that a friendly arrangement might be made with the host for

the guest's quiet disappearance. When Khiva was swallowed up in the Russian advance, and Cossack patrols were seen on the Oxus and along the Persian border, Sher Ali began to make deliberate overtures to the new arrivals: and when Russian designs in Europe were thwarted by the interference of our Ministers after the Treaty of San Stefano, it was an easy thing for their statesmen to retaliate by sending an embassy to Kabul. Our answer was prompt: The  
Afghan  
War,  
1878-80. a British force marched upon Kandahar, two converged upon Kabul, and Sher Ali fled beyond the mountains to die at Balkh. By the treaty of Gundamuk we secured the districts above Quetta and the passes west of Peshawur, and—fatal mistake!—for the second time placed a British Resident at the Afghan capital. In five weeks the Resident was massacred and the country in a blaze. General Roberts again pushed through the Kurram Pass upon Kabul, receiving on his way the newly-made Ameer, Sher Ali's son, who was not unfairly suspected of treachery. An Afghan attempt to entrap and destroy our army as Elphinstone's had been entrapped in 1841 was defeated utterly: a serious defeat actually inflicted on our Kandahar force at Maiwand by another of Sher Ali's sons was avenged by the same army of Kabul, after a brilliant march of three hundred miles through hostile country. Then Abdur Rahman, the strongest man among Dost Mahomed's descendants, was summoned from his refuge in Tashkend and given the vacant throne: if he could hold Afghanistan,

we told him, we would see that no outside Power disturbed him: and since that time, if his moods have been occasionally uncertain,\* his loyalty to the British alliance has remained indubitable.

On our eastern frontier the work of defence has been more complicated and yet in some ways easier. Our task has been at any rate a more straightforward one than in Afghani-  
stan: Britons govern other races better than they humour them. The Burmese king had for thirty years sulked amid his temples at Mandalay, slaughtering his kinsmen and nobles and insulting strangers as much as he dared. When France, eager for a new East Indian empire, began to stir in Indo-China, he was ready enough to provide French agents with a foothold from which they might considerably annoy British India. It was not difficult for us to dethrone him, for the regular Burmese army was no better since Dalhousie's time: the difficulties  
Burmese  
affairs.  
The  
Burmese  
War,  
1885.  
began when we had to administer his kingdom ourselves. The population consisted practically of two classes—the dacoits, robber gangs partly permanent and partly recruited from the growing lads of every village: and the peasants who had passed dacoit age and were squatted down on the soil, trying to keep for their own livelihood as much of their produce as could be hid from their successors and the king's tax-gatherers. There were no

\* President Kruger would call him a "kwaai man."

leaders but bandits: there was no nation, nor the germ of one. Ten years ago, with such material as this, the work of organization was taken in hand: to-day Upper Burma is as orderly and as briskly progressive as many old-fashioned Indian provinces, and has been promoted to a rank alongside the Punjab as a Lieutenant-Governorship with a local Legislature.

On its eastern frontier this newest of our Indian provinces touched China and Siam—the former a Siam and France. sullen conglomeration of disconnected governments, the latter a friendly but only just coherent kingdom. France also touched them, but along a less mountainous border-line: and the urgent necessity of maintaining order on the frontier—which made us swallow up India, and made Russia swallow Turkestan, and becomes especially pressing when there is none too much order within the frontier—drew the French from Cambodia round the Anam coast to Tonking, and soon brought them inland over Siamese territory to the Mekong. It was, of course, not only a matter of law and order. The western provinces of China are among those few scarcely-known regions which still entice the merchant with hope of fresh markets: our traders schemed to tap them across the Burmese passes, and the French hope to anticipate us by using the Mekong for transport. War and diplomacy have narrowed Siam, and brought the two European nations face to face along the

much-desired river. It is probably the best solution of the problem, for natives states have little objection to being influenced alternately by each rival, and their boundaries are often a mirage—while a river-bed and a definitely worded treaty leave few loopholes for the adventurous official who enjoys any little frontier disturbance short of actual war. China, meanwhile, still aching from its tussle with Japan, promises both sides all things to gain their gratitude, and has just rounded off the north-eastern corner of Burma by handing over to us a couple of minor provinces.

To the south of the main Indian peninsula lies not the least important of our eastern provinces, the tropical and fertile island of Ceylon. We took it from the Dutch when we took the Cape Colony, and for the same reason, but kept it when the other was given back. Following Dutch precedent, we at first controlled the coast only, but in 1815 conquered the native kingdom which occupied the interior. Since that time the island has been a Crown colony.

### *C. The Growth of Australasia.*

Secure in their girdle of oceans from the turmoil of European or American wars, the colonies of

Australia fills out. Australia expanded steadily into the unoccupied continent which Britain had handed over to them. Each had its own en-

thrilling subject for discussion and legislation—New South Wales its land-system, Victoria its fiscal policy, South Australia its settlement at Port Darwin, with the consequent building of its great overland telegraph line. Queensland, which had been encouraged during the Civil War in America to begin cotton and sugar plantations, found the question of cheap labour insoluble except by importing Kanakas from the nearer South Sea Islands. In the two south-eastern colonies the ordinary pioneer work of squatters or selectors sufficed to fill in yet unexplored portions of the

map. The three large ones, where settlement was still a mere fringe on the enormous waste of Central Australia, were for many a day—as West Australia is still—full of opportunities for more daring adventurers.

Exploration:  
Eyre,  
1840-41.

Eyre, the first of the Overlanders,\* after opening up the track from Albany to Perth, had journeyed painfully along the cliffs of the Great Bight from Spencer Gulf to Albany. Sturt had discovered the lower waters of Cooper's Creek, Mitchell and Kennedy traced its upper course.

Leichhardt,  
1844-8.

Leichhardt opened up the coast line of Queensland from the Fitzroy northwards, and surveyed the Gulf country from the Mitchell to the Roper. Gregory crossed the unknown land from Cambridge Gulf to Moreton Bay.

\* See p. 259.

After 1858 there was an outburst of exploring energy. McDouall Stuart, a man of Sturt's training, after four attempts traversed the continent from south to north where the telegraph line now runs, and established South Australia's claim on the Northern Territory. The more famous expedition of Burke and Wills, whose memory is a monument to its leaders, kept a more easterly line from Melbourne by the Darling, Cooper's Creek, and the Flinders to the Gulf of Carpentaria: but the arrangements for relief had been badly made, and Burke and Wills themselves starved to death during their return in spite of the kindness of several native tribes. Since that time exploration and settlement have gone hand in hand, and even the barren expanses of West Australia are scored with the tracks of such men as Warburton, Forrest, Giles, and Elder.

Stuart,  
1859-62.

Burke and  
Wills,  
1860-1.

While the squatter's domain has been thus enlarged, gold and silver have maintained their position as fosterers of Australia's prosperity. Victoria is dotted with fields from end to end: New South Wales, less rich in the yellow metal, has opened up tin and copper mines, found new coalfields round Bulli and Lithgow, and forced Sturt's barren Stanley Ranges to disclose the silver mines of Broken Hill. Queensland, which began rather badly with the collapse of a gold rush on the Fitzroy, has recouped itself with

Mining.



the gold of Gympie, Charters Towers, and Mount Morgan. Even little Tasmania can boast of Mount Bischoff tin, and is finding many miles of its rugged western country rich in minerals. West Australia has followed suit, and has been visited with an eruption of goldfields from Kimberley in the far north to where at the back of the old Swan River settlement one sees the magic names of Cue and Coolgardie.

New Zealand had less peaceful times in store for her when the British colonists first took over their own administration. The native lands question, which Grey had managed to keep in the background, immediately asserted itself again. A large body of Taranaki Maoris were against any further cessions of land to white men, and the chief, Wiremi Kingi (William King), routed a survey party that had entered land within his jurisdiction by overwhelming them with all the ugliest and dirtiest old women of his tribe, who hugged the startled surveyors till they ran in dismay. But humorousness fares ill when matched against offended dignity, and the Governor was already on thorns about a movement in the Waikato district to establish a sort of Maori feudal monarchy: Imperial troops were sent to Taranaki, and a war broke out which lasted, off and on, for nearly eleven years. At the first definite news of war Grey was hurried back from the Cape, but to a very different state

Maori  
Wars.

of things from that which he had left. The Colonial Ministry advised one course, the Imperial commander-in-chief another: the Maoris had forgotten how to trust the white man, and were suspicious of all overtures. For a year or so Grey's imperious will seemed triumphant, and Maoris and settlers alike were regaining confidence: then another unfortunate outburst in Taranaki upset all his plans, and the island was aflame again. Eight years followed of indecisive fighting. From Taranaki, from Auckland, from Tauranga, British troops endeavoured to penetrate to the enemy's country, storming *pahs* with much loss of life to find the same work must be done all over again a few months later: in the west a new sect developed, the Hauhau fanatics, who added to the war a previously-unknown brutality, and carried massacre into the East coast districts long after the Waikato natives had withdrawn themselves in passive hostility within their own border. The three-cornered quarrel between Grey, his ministers, and the British general, ended in the withdrawal of Imperial troops and the recall of the Governor: and the colonists were left to themselves to finish the work of pacification, which they did in 1871. Four Maoris now sit in the New Zealand Parliament, which altered its constitution in 1876 by abolishing the provinces and making both islands a single colony with a large measure of local government.

Of late years Australasia has found itself less isolated than it had thought. Governor Phillip's commission has of course long been a dead letter so far as it included the South Sea islands, and the Pacific Ocean has recently been as much exploited as Africa itself. France owns Tahiti and the archipelago eastward; Germany has seized part of New Guinea and a miscellaneous collection of islands north-east to the Marshalls; the United States is in process of annexing Hawaii. New Caledonia, transportation to which has at last been stopped, was French long before the rush: France and England supervise the New Hebrides: England, Germany, and the United States watch each other in Samoa. Otherwise nearly every Pacific island, from Palmyra to the Macquaries, from the Herveys to Torres Straits, flies the British flag, which guards also as much of Eastern New Guinea as the Imperial Ministry of 1886 could be induced to rescue from Germany. Under this stress of foreign intrusion the Australian colonies have been driven nearer union than seemed ever to be likely since 1840. Especially did the fear of French action in the New Hebrides work strongly for federation, and indeed produced in 1883 the scheme for a Federal Council. Succeeding conferences have been further steps along the road towards union. A Convention held at Sydney in 1891 drew out an elaborate scheme of complete federation, and another held

in Adelaide this year has revised that scheme and made it perhaps more workable: but, in spite of much enthusiasm for the idea, it is still doubtful whether politicians have so felt the urgency of its immediate realization as to entrust their provincial interests to the control of a Parliament of the Commonwealth.

*D. South Africa restless.*

Under the Constitution of 1853 the Cape Colony settled down to a quieter life than it had known since the first British occupation. On its eastern border British Kaffraria was never entirely still, and across the Kei Pondos and Tembus and Kosas stirred each other up with the cheery enmity of old Highland clans. Sir George Grey, fresh from his Maori diplomacy, did his best to give the Kaffirs also a taste for orderliness and steady work: he began road- and harbour-making in the British province, and arranged for the founding of industrial schools where Fingo and Kosa might learn to make their own farm implements and till their ground in modern fashion. The Fingoes answered readily to his call, but our old foes could not rest. Chafing under Cathcart's settlement, their chiefs plotted a grand outbreak of the whole Kosa nation that should sweep every white man off the face of South

Trouble  
in Kaff-  
raria.

Sir George  
Grey  
Governor,  
1854-61.

The Kosa  
madness,  
1856-7.

Africa. They proclaimed a day of vengeance, when the heroes of old time should arise from the dead to inaugurate a Kosa millennium, while the Fingoes and the whites should be crushed by a falling sky. Only, said the prophet of this miracle, the believers must show their faith by killing all their cattle and destroying all their corn: then for them new cattle and nobler, fresh and inexhaustible fields of grain, would spring suddenly from the earth, while the incredulous who dared not trust the prophet would share the doom of their foes. The message ran like wildfire through the clans. The Galékas of the Transkei devastated their land without a murmur: their brother Kosas, the Gaikas of the British province, yielded more sullenly, but yielded: with memories of Bible miracles and rumours of the Russian war\* a nation of two hundred thousand souls was urged to the most fanatic of suicides. For the chiefs had kept their secret too well. They had intended to hurl their starving followers upon the British in a desperate war of extirpation: but when  
1857. the eighteenth of February came and went, and the millennium tarried, there was no spirit left in the men they had deluded. British Kaffraria swarmed not with warriors, but with suppliants: and the Kosa nation, decimated by the cruel ambition of its chiefs, disappeared from Cape history for twenty years.

\* Cf. p. 372.

A redistribution of territory in the affected districts naturally followed. Grey brought out more than two thousand Germans, who had fought in our German Legion during the Crimean war, and planted them in the now empty Gaika country, adding soon after a body of German peasants who brought their families with them and so made the settlement permanent. Beyond the Kei, as clans from the hills moved down among the scattered remains of the coast Galékas, Adam Kok and his Griquas from the Orange Free State were shifted into the abandoned hill-country henceforth to be known as Griqualand East. A little later British Kaffraria became an integral part of the Cape Colony, and the Transkei districts were one by one placed under British administration, until the last of them, Pondoland, was annexed to the Cape in 1894.

Beyond the colony's northern frontier native wars for many years harassed the unwillingly-independent Orange Free State. The Boers claimed Sir Harry Smith's border-line. Moshesh held out for Sir George Napier's. Grey's attempt at mediation was a failure, as was also the first intervention of his successor, Sir Philip Wodehouse, for the Basutos would not yield a jot of their pretensions till they were really beaten. But in 1867 President Brand of the Free State at last mastered them: Moshesh, an old man without any able successor, appealed for protection to the British:

Emigration  
and trans-  
migration.

The  
Free State  
and the  
Basutos.

and Basutoland, east of the Caledon and north of Sir Harry Smith's line, became a British protectorate. From 1871 to 1884 it was part of the Cape Colony, but has since been replaced under Crown control.

The annexation of Basutoland was shortly followed by one of more importance and less technical justification. In 1867 diamonds were found near the junction of the Orange and Vaal rivers, and within a couple of years the country for miles round was full of eager diggers. The fork between the two rivers was Orange Free State territory: north-west of the Vaal there was a district to which the Free State, the Transvaal, Waterboer\*, and the Batlapin, all laid claim, while none of them had really looked after it. The lawlessness of its mining-camps required instant regulation, and the Cape authorities determined to assert Britain's responsibility for the peace of South Africa exactly as Lord Hastings† had asserted it in Rajpootana more than fifty years before. Mr. Keate, the Governor of Natal, was set to arbitrate between the Transvaal and the natives about the disputed territory: he took occasion, on the evidence that came before him, to give Waterboer not only the districts west of the Vaal, but a slice also of Free State country in the fork, which included

Basutoland  
annexed,  
1869.  
Griqualand  
West.  
The Keate  
award,  
Oct., 1871.

\* Son of the original Waterboer. See p. 311.

† See p. 346.

nearly all the newly-opened diamond fields. The Griqua chief at once asked for annexation to Britain, and Griqualand West was proclaimed a British dependency. The Free State complained loudly: it had not been represented in the arbitration court, and Waterboer's claims were so vapoury that they were disallowed by the first land court held in the new colony: whereupon the home Government, in which Lord Carnarvon was then Minister for the Colonies, had at last the courage to assume its rightful position, and to assert the necessity of Britain's control over the diamond-fields on the ground that we are the paramount power in southern Africa. The Free State received a money compensation, and was freed from the difficulty which has more recently troubled its northern neighbour—that of adapting the simple politics of a farming community to the swirl and welter of a modern mining town.

As the goldfields brought responsible government to Australia, so the diamond fields brought it to the Cape. It was a prelude to larger political schemes, for Lord Carnarvon was our first real Minister for the Colonies—his predecessors had been merely Colonial Ministers for England. Years before, Sir George Grey had formulated a scheme of federal union to include the Boer republics as well as the British colonies,

The Convention of  
1876.

Federation  
in the air.

Grey's  
scheme,  
1858.



and the Free State, then still young, passed resolutions in favour of reunion with the Cape. What the British Ministries of 1859-60 looked on with horror, the Minister of 1875 hoped to reproduce. Lord Carnarvon had given Canada its Dominion Act, and set himself to make a sister dominion in the southern hemisphere; nor were the men wanting who should carry out in detail on the spot his finely-conceived designs. Sir Bartle Frere was

Sir Bartle  
Frere.

chosen to direct the influences that made for union as Governor of the Cape Colony and High Commissioner of the outlying protectorates:

Sir T.  
Shepstone.

Sir Theophilus Shepstone, the ablest diplomatist in South Africa, and the man above all others whom the natives respected for his thorough knowledge of their character, was commissioned to investigate and arrange difficulties in the half-hostile Transvaal, which was by this time cumbered with a load of debt, entangled in a disastrous war with the chief Secocoeni, and threatened with worse danger by the Zulu king Cetywayo.\* Shepstone got first to work. For three months he lived in Pretoria, taking stock of public opinion, and watching the

The  
Transvaal  
annexed,  
Apr. 12,  
1877.

Boer Assembly's futile attempts at reform; then he proclaimed the dissolution of the Republic, the annexation of the Transvaal, and its constitution as a British col-

\* Pronounced *Ketchwahyo*. This is not quite accurate, but near enough.

ony with its own laws and legislature. The Boer President "saved face," as the Chinese say, by a formal protest : his second in command, Paul Kruger, went to London to beg for a restoration of independence ; but Lord Carnarvon had grasped as no Minister had grasped before him (and very few since) the all-important fact that in native matters South Africa was already a single community, and was not inclined to let Boer weakness encourage a general Bantu rising against the white man. The annexation was confirmed, and Shepstone remained in Pretoria as administrator of the Government.

Meanwhile Sir Bartle Frere had reached Capetown. He was a man accustomed to high command, who had done good work during the Indian Mutiny, and had afterwards been Lieutenant-Governor of Bombay. His mission in South Africa was to unify it as India was unified : he conceived a great assemblage of states, British and non-British, each self-governing within its own borders, all protected by the paramount power against outside attack. Therefore, first of all, there must be peace and the prospect of peace within ; and the Kaffirs were restless everywhere. Secocoeni was not subdued : the Basutos were stirring uneasily amid their mountains : the Kosa tribes had renewed their strength and were in open rebellion on the Kei. Behind them all lowered the Zulu power, built

Frere  
Governor,  
1877-81.

up again from its ruins by Panda and his son Cetywayo. This king had been a friend of the English as long as he could hope for their support against the Transvaal Boers: when the Transvaal became English he found himself cooped up in a narrow territory, and prepared to make room for

Last Kaffir  
war,  
1877-8.  
Zulu war,  
1879.

his people as his ancestors had done. Frere crushed the Kosa revolt, and turned on the Zulus with demands that their army should be disbanded and the king's

coronation-promises fully carried out. An ominous silence answered his demands. British troops invaded Zululand: a dramatic defeat at Isandhlwana (redeemed by the heroic defence of the Rorke's Drift hospital) for a time demoralized both the army and the colonists of Natal; then, recovering itself, the little force pushed on upon Cetywayo's capital, Ulundi, allowed the Zulu impis to break themselves in vain charges on its hollow square, and with a brilliant cavalry charge shattered for ever that warrior nation which had been for more than seventy years the terror of South Africa.

We broke the French power in North America, and lost the United States. Kruger and his Boers were in a mind to copy Adams and the men of Massachusetts. Chelmsford had crushed the

Zulus, Wolseley stormed the stronghold of  
Nov., 1879.

Secocoeni: Shepstone, whom the Boers knew and respected, was replaced by an unsympathetic martinet, and the Gladstone Ministry had

come into power in England. Sir Bartle Frere was in unmerited disgrace: his own chief, Lord Carnarvon, had left the Conservative Cabinet in 1878, and no one else at home understood or cared for his schemes. In the Transvaal the malcontents relied on the fervent support of English Radicals, and the well-disposed could only remember with anxious foreboding how again and again Britain had backed down in South African matters. Their anxiety was justified: we backed down once more. We irritated the Boers by giving them a Crown Colony constitution instead of the self-government we promised: our Ministers talked of them as oppressed patriots and yet made a half-hearted attempt to treat them as rebels. On Dingaan's Day, 1880, the South African Republic was again proclaimed, and every British garrison in the Transvaal found itself besieged. Sir George Colley, the Governor of Natal, whose Indian experience had taught him the value of immediate action, marched at once with a small body of troops to relieve the garrisons, refusing the help of Natal colonists lest he should embitter the local feeling between the two white races. A larger force of Boers blocked his way at the pass of Lang's Nek: failing to force his way through, he adopted the Indian strategy of seizing by night the hills above the enemy's camp. But he took no guns with him

1880.

The  
Transvaal  
revolts,  
Dec. 16,  
1880.

Majuba  
Hill,  
Feb. 27,  
1881.

and too few men, and in any case the Boers were dourer men than Pathans. Majuba all but ended the war in our favour: yet the younger Boers replied to Colley's daring with a no less bold attack on his half-secured position, which killed him and drove his men back to camp: and the British Prime Minister, reversing in this as in all else the policy of his predecessors, allowed the struggle to end with unrepaired defeat, a course which half England might call generosity, but which South Africa from end to end—enraged or exulting according to race—knew only as bitter humiliation.

Of more recent events it is not yet the time to speak in detail. The London Convention of 1884, that whittled away almost to nothing our slight control of Transvaal affairs: Boer attempts to burst through the new border-line into Zululand, into Bechuanaland, and northward across the Limpopo: the definite enclosure of the Boer republics within encircling British protectorates, as Wellesley had hemmed in the native states of India with a ring-fence of annexed territory, will be discussed in their place as part of a larger African movement: the gold-rush that made Johannesburg, the wonders of the Rand, the railway war, and the Uitlanders' grievances, are matters of present politics rather than of history. We may note in passing that 1882 saw Dutch restored to an equality with English as an official language of

Convention  
of Pretoria,  
Aug., 1881.

Recent  
events.

the Cape Colony: that Natal, suddenly brought into prominence by its connection with the Zulu and Boer wars, and now neighboured by three British colonies as well as the two republics, has largely developed its intercolonial trade and become a self-governing state: and that the Free State, always friendly to the Empire, has of late inclined to make itself a mediator between the two white races and to soothe the Transvaal Boers into acquiescence in the supremacy of British influence throughout South Africa. But South Africa is no longer a problem by itself: it has become part of a new Africa, whose awakening is the cardinal event of recent history.

*E. Africa wakes up.*

Of all European sovereigns Leopold of Belgium was the one who had least to do. His State was guaranteed by Europe against foreign oppression, and its internal politics were on the same scale as its territory. When in 1875 Henry Stanley, "the man who had found Livingstone," started from the Zanzibar coast with the avowed purpose of crossing Africa, King Leopold seized on this new excitement as an opportunity for doing something to distinguish himself, and "took up" Africa much as other men take up amateur photography or chemistry. Under his presidency a conference of geographers and explorers from all the great

Leopold of  
Belgium.

The  
Brussels  
Conference,  
1876.

European nations met at Brussels, and decided to form the International African Association. Committees of each nation were to collect subscriptions: the central Association was to do the work of civilization in the name of United Europe.

The scheme was premature. Britain refused to take any political action, and confined herself to exploration and missions in the Lake country. The French agent, on the other hand, turned his civilizing tour into one for annexing new regions to France. The Belgians made their Committee into the International Congo Association, and sent Stanley back to the river he had just discovered to organise the Congo State. Portugal woke up from her three hundred years' dream, and claimed ownership of the Congo mouth.

And now with a rush Germany came into the field—a brand-new Power, with a good deal of the *parvenu's* desire to assert himself, Germany arrives. determined to rival Britain overseas as it rivalled Russia on the Continent, and to have all colonial luxuries that complete the establishment of a first-class empire. For years it had waited for such an opportunity. In 1876 it had cast longing eyes on the Transvaal, but later events made action in that quarter inadvisable till the air was quiet again: now, with South African feeling morosely anti-English, and the Majuba ministry still in power in London, the opportunity

was too good to be lost. During the seventies had been outlined the great design of a "Cape to Cairo" German strip, and the time was come to carry it into execution. As a feeler, just to find out what the British Government would stand, Prince Bismarck allowed a Bremen merchant to hoist the German flag at Angra Pequena, between the Orange River and Walfisch Bay, which latter place Sir Bartle Frere had luckily persuaded the previous Ministry to annex in 1878. For a year Bismarck played with our Ministers: then orders were issued from Berlin, and the whole scheme became plain. From Angra Pequena on one side and St. Lucia Bay on the other tongues of German territory were to be thrust inland to the Transvaal, barring the Cape Colony from any northward expansion: further north similar annexations were to make a second broad bar across Africa from Zanzibar to the Niger. Everywhere the German grip fastened on lands already British in all but name,\* while French claims were treated with the utmost respect, and France was encouraged to make trouble for us in Egypt. The audacity of the whole conception paralysed the home Government, but our local officials did their best: St. Lucia Bay was saved, the Niger delta occupied just in time, and the Zanzibar enterprise hampered enough to

\* It was, o. course, at this same time that Germany seized Northern New Guinea.



give us some say in the now inevitable distribution of the East African coast.

Meanwhile in Europe negotiations were going on which resulted in the Berlin Conference of 1885. This assemblage of delegates from all the European states, ostensibly called to discuss the future *status* of King Leopold's Congo enterprise, resolved itself into a body for drawing up the rules of a new game—the Partition of Africa. The principal ones were these—that along the coast no claim would be recognised unless the claimant Power effectively occupied and controlled the district in question: but that behind any effectively occupied coast-strip a wide region of the interior might be delimited by treaties, in which the coast Power should have uncontested influence and a reasonable time for extending its sway over the native inhabitants. Under this arrangement the old blankness of the African map soon disappeared beneath a patchwork of colouring. France seized the chance of connecting Algeria with her Senegal colony: Portugal endeavoured to appropriate its unexplored\* Hinterland between Angola and Mozambique: Italy, as yet without a colony, seized a strip on the Red Sea and another north of the Zanzibar coast, and hoped to join them in the same way by a sphere of influence stretching across

The Berlin  
Conference.

Africa par-  
titioned.

\* Livingstone had travelled much in the Zambesi country, but no Portuguese knew anything about it.

Abyssinia.\* Britain alone, unaccustomed to this direct State action, and still a little dazed by the general scramble, was for the moment at a loss: but her missionaries and her traders saved her. The Portuguese claim threatened to swallow up all the Zambesi valley and Nyassaland, districts sacred to the memory of Livingstone. Germany was ready to absorb our newer missions in Uganda. And every merchant knew that while British annexation left the trade of other nations equally unhampered with our own, regions which fell under French or German or Portuguese control were at once closed to British trade as far as duties could close them.

So there sprang up to supply our urgent need a new crop of chartered companies. William Mackinnon founded the Imperial British East African Company,† which rented the Zanzibar coastlands north of the German sphere, and administered a "sphere of influence" reaching to Uganda. George Taubmann Goldie, who in 1879 had formed the United African Company to work the Niger trade, succeeded in getting it chartered as the Royal Niger Company, with territories reaching to Say

Chartered  
Com-  
panies  
in East  
Africa

and on the  
Niger.

\* The over-ambitious scheme has collapsed, and Italian Africa is now to consist of Massowah and a couple of small adjacent native protectorates.

† Lord Brassey and Sir T. Buxton were both Directors of this company.

on the Niger, to Ribago on the Benué, and to Lake Tchad intermediately. Treaties concluded with France, Germany, and Italy in 1889-91 have made the boundaries of Ibea and the Niger colony fairly definite, although there is still a debateable strip on the west of the Niger, and an unannexed region between Lake Tchad and Uganda, where Britain, France (from the French Congo), and Egypt are vaguely understood to be watching each other with a good deal of distrust. The East African Company, which at Lord Salisbury's request took over for a time the administration of Uganda, found its resources over-strained by the effort, and surrendered its charter in 1895, its territories passing under direct British rule. The Niger Company, with happier fortune, has established within its boundaries an orderly and systematic government, has abolished slavery, and stands before the peoples of a fertile and thickly-populated region as the supreme power for good, confirming the rule of wise princes and punishing the oppression of tyrants.

The third of our African chartered companies needs a little more notice. The German attempt to make connections with the Transvaal from the west coast was answered by the Boers with the founding of two freebooters' republics in Bechuana-

land, west of their border-line as defined  
The Warren expedition, 1885. by treaty. At once an English expedition under Sir Charles Warren expelled the



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OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND  
VOLUME 10. PART 1. 1880.

intruders and formally annexed the country along the Transvaal border up to lat. 22°. Soon more Boers threatened an attempt to push northwards into the country of their old foes, the Matabele: and to stop them a treaty was hurriedly concluded with Lobengula, the Matabele chief, by which he engaged to alienate no land and to grant no privileges to anyone without British consent. But here Portugal also had to be dealt with: and as we proposed to neglect her claims to the district on the ground that she had never occupied it, it was necessary that we ourselves should at once provide some means of effective occupation.

So there came to the front the third and, at present, the most famous of our African Empire-builders, Cecil Rhodes; a deviser of far-reaching schemes alike in finance and statecraft, strong-willed and silent in executing them—than whom no man of the last half-century has made more bitter enemies or more devoted followers. On the union of two prospecting companies to which Lobengula had granted mining rights in Mashonaland he built up the British South Africa Company, which, receiving its charter in 1889, occupied Mashonaland in 1890, and upheld British claims against the trekking Boers of the Transvaal and the now excited Portuguese from Gazaland and the Zambesi. Within three years came an inevitable

Feb. 11,  
1888.

Cecil  
Rhodes.

The  
British  
South  
Africa Com-  
pany.

collision with the Matabele impis, whom Lobengula found himself unable to restrain: two fights broke their organisation, never so good as that of the Zulus, and Matabeleland passed under the Company's rule.\* Already it had nominally taken over large districts north of the Zambesi, which Lord Salisbury had secured for Britain by arrangements with Portugal and the Congo Free State: and in 1895 they came under its direct administration, with the exception of the region around and

British  
Central  
Africa.

below Lake Nyassa, which had for many years been the seat of Scottish missionary enterprise, and which was reserved to be a protectorate under direct Crown administration. Since then the Company has thrust a tongue southward between the Transvaal and the protected Bechuana chieftainships to meet the Cape Colony, which on its side has swallowed up the Bechuanaland Crown Colony. Along that tongue a railway, financed (like many others of the Company's enterprises) by the diamond mines of Kimberley, is being hurried on to tap the Matabele tableland: far ahead of it, linking together the homes of Englishmen nearly two thousand miles apart, the telegraph line will soon reach Tanganyika, and may yet span the gap where Germany bars our road, and hasten past Uganda down the reedy Nile to where under British

\* The recent revolt in Matabeleland was mainly among tribes whom we had freed from the Matabele tyranny.

guidance Egypt, growing daily in prosperity, begins to reclaim the barbarous Eastern Soudan.

\* \* \* \* \*

So the story of our Empire ends for a moment where it began, among the merchant adventurers and the men who are proud to believe in Britain perhaps more than she is inclined to believe in herself. We have come a long way from Raleigh to Rhodes, but the race has bred true all through—the race that has taken the world by the shoulders, the breed of men who are set to do mighty things for the glory of their mother England, taking what blame may come so that the profit and the praise are hers. All English history is the tale of how that race was made, and we lose the point of it till we know what work, far extended beyond its little island bounds, the English race has done. To tell of Imperial Britain, as Livy told of the birth and growth of Imperial Rome, is a work still waiting for its historian.

But until he comes we may outline for our own guidance what the course of that history has been, and watch how eight hundred years ago began the welding together of a nation which, combining the daring of the Celt with the doggedness of the Saxon, was by their aid fully to develop its old Norse love of the sea. Centuries fighting, at first intestine, then with an enemy



no less divided against itself, hammered the three races into one; we are too apt to forget that England no less than France was unified in the long wars of Edward III and Henry V. What Pitt's war in the eighteenth century did for the Highlanders, that Poitiers and Agincourt did for the Welsh: there is nothing that so easily fuses two races into one as the heat of battle side by side. And then the Wars of the Roses exterminated feudalism, and left the ground free for that crop of warrior-merchants than whom Carthage saw none more prosperous and Rome none more war-like. But trade and adventure will not by themselves create colonies: it needed the permanent stimulus of the religious movement, the imperative demand for some asylum which could shelter Nonconformists, Catholic and Puritan alike, to plant among endless forests and implacable savages the enduring settlements that could make a new nation. Tried by such stresses, cut off by the French alliance from direct action in Europe, and hurled by every religious and patriotic motive against the colonies of Spain, the Elizabethan English saw the whole non-European earth open for a spoil to their privateers and a store for their merchantmen: they assumed and enforced their right to trade with every settlement of white or red men in the New World, and granted themselves rights over lands yet undiscovered to the shores of an uncharted ocean. From that time

no king and no minister has ruled in England who has not recognized and encouraged the expanding sea-power and oversea-power of his unappeasable nation. At home the Stuarts did their best to be tyrants: abroad, the narrowest of them had glimpses of imperial policy. With that ship-money fleet that cost him so dear, Charles I. hoped to annex Madagascar. In the most cringing moments of his subservience to Louis XIV the second Charles wrung from his patron an acknowledgement that the English were supreme at sea. And with that we come to the eighteenth century, and the mission of Britain springs at once into clear view. Many illustrious names make that century famous: many noble reforms are its gifts to the modern world. But among all these interesting studies of men and thoughts and actions there is one interest that stands out preëminent in the estimation not of Britons only, but of all who love free governments and fuller national life—the interest of watching how amid the conflicts of armed Europe there was growing up that great aggregate of free peoples which we to-day call the British Empire: how Britain, having set her own house in order sought and found the great work ready to her hand which she alone could accomplish, and set to work to accomplish it in her dogged way by the daring and endurance of her people, not by the decrees and subsidies of a paternal government: learning from every mistake and every bitter experience to avoid further

defeats in newer countries, and so taking her rightful place among the nations as the great mother of states, the head fountain of that Ocean-empire which, like its prototype the Ocean-river, encircles the whole globe with an unconquerable stream.

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## APPENDIX.



## APPENDIX.

### COLONIAL ARTICLES OF THE MORE IMPORTANT TREATIES MENTIONED IN THIS BOOK.

ST. GERMAIN-EN-LAYE (1632).

*Canada* (i.e., the St. Lawrence valley), *Acadia*, and *Cape Breton* restored to France after their seizure by the English settlers of Newfoundland.

BREDA (1667).

*Acadia* restored to France after its annexation by Cromwell in 1654.

RYSWICK (1698).

Conquests of each nation to be restored: but France to retain *Hudson's Bay* and the south coast of *Newfoundland*, including *Placentia*.

UTRECHT (1713).

See text, p. 76.

AIX-LA-CHAPELLE (1748).

Conquests to be restored, *Louisbourg* to France and *Madras* to England: the *Assiento* treaty to be renewed for four years. A Commission to discuss boundary questions in America.

PARIS (1763).

France cedes *Canada*, *Acadia*, *Cape Breton*, and all other territory claimed by her in North

America east of the Mississippi, except *New Orleans*: also *Grenada*, the *Grenadines*, *Dominica*, *St. Vincent*, and *Tobago*; also the *Senegal* valley, some trading posts in *Sumatra*, and *Minorca*.

France regains *St. Lucia*, *Martinique*, and *Guadeloupe*; *Goree*, her *Indian* trading stations (without power to fortify them) and *Belle-Isle*: gains *St. Pierre* and *Miquelon*, and retains certain fishing rights in *Newfoundland*.

Spain cedes *Florida* and all other North American territory claimed by her; also abandons her fishing rights in *Newfoundland* and claims against English traders.

Spain regains *Havana*, *Manilla*, and other British conquests: and receives from France *New Orleans* and *Louisiana* west of the Mississippi.

#### PARIS (1783).

Independence of the *United States* acknowledged.

Natural boundaries of Maine (see p. 165) to intersection of Connecticut River with lat.  $45^{\circ}$ : lat.  $45^{\circ}$  to *St. Lawrence*: middle of *St. Lawrence* and lakes (except *Lake Michigan*) to north-west corner of *Lake Ontario*: the *Woods*: thence westerly to source of *Mississippi*.

U.S. retain fishing rights on *Bank of Newfoundland*. *Mississippi* River free to ships of both nations.

VERSAILLES (1783).

French fishing rights in *Newfoundland* confirmed with altered shore-line.

France returns *Grenada*, *St. Vincent*, *Dominica*, *St. Kitts*, *Nevis*, *Montserrat* : and recovers *St. Lucia*, *Tobago*, *Goree*, the *Senegal*, and two or three *Indian* trading stations.

Spain returns the *Bahamas*, and regains *Minorca* and *Florida*.

AMIENS (1802).

Britain gives up her colonial conquests, except *Ceylon* and *Trinidad*, and hands over the *Cape Colony* to Holland, and *Malta* to the Knights of St. John.

PARIS (1814).

Britain retains *Malta*, *Tobago*, *St. Lucia*, *Mauritius*, and restores the other French colonies she has captured.

LONDON (1814).

Britain retains the *Cape Colony*, *Demerara*, *Essequibo*, and *Berbice*, paying Holland £2,000,000 for them: and restores her other Dutch captures.

GHENT (1814).

No armed vessels to be kept on the American lakes: boundary question left unsettled.



Britain restores to the U.S. all captured territory.

ASHBURTON TREATY (1842).

Settlement of Maine and Minnesota boundaries, and lat. 49° to the Rocky Mountains. (Fugitive slave question decided by this treaty).

OREGON TREATY (1846).

Line of lat. 49° prolonged to the sea so as to leave *Vancouver Island* entirely British.

WASHINGTON (1871).

Final settlement of boundaries on Oregon and Alaska borders: also mutual concessions of fishing rights and use of important canals, lakes, and rivers. ("Alabama" claim referred to arbitration by this treaty).

# LIST OF AUTHORITIES WHICH THE STUDENT MAY USEFULLY CONSULT.

*This list is inserted merely as an aid to teachers, and makes no pretence of being anything more.*

*Seeley's* Expansion of England.

*Caldecott's* English Colonization and Empire.

*Lucas' Historical Geography of the British Colonies.* (Introduction and vols. i-iv already published.

*Gibbins' British Commerce and Colonies.*

*Ransome's Our Colonies and India.*

*Theal's South Africa* ("Story of the Nations" series).

*Molteno's Federal South Africa.*

*Keltie's Partition of Africa.*

*Jenks' Australasian Colonies.*

*Bonwick's First Twenty Years of Australia.*  
Old New Zealand.

*Greswell's Canada.*

*Bourinot's Canada* (S. of N. series).

*Thwaites' Colonies, 1492-1750.*

*Lyall's British India.*

*Hunter's Brief History of the Indian Peoples.*

Warren Hastings

Cornwallis

Wellesley

Bentinck

Dalhousie

(“Rulers of India” series).

# INDEX.

## *Explanatory Note.*

All wars and treaties are indexed under WAR and TREATY, *not under their place-names.*

Tribes and their countries are, as a rule, indexed together: thus, "AFGHANS, THE," includes references to Afghanistan.

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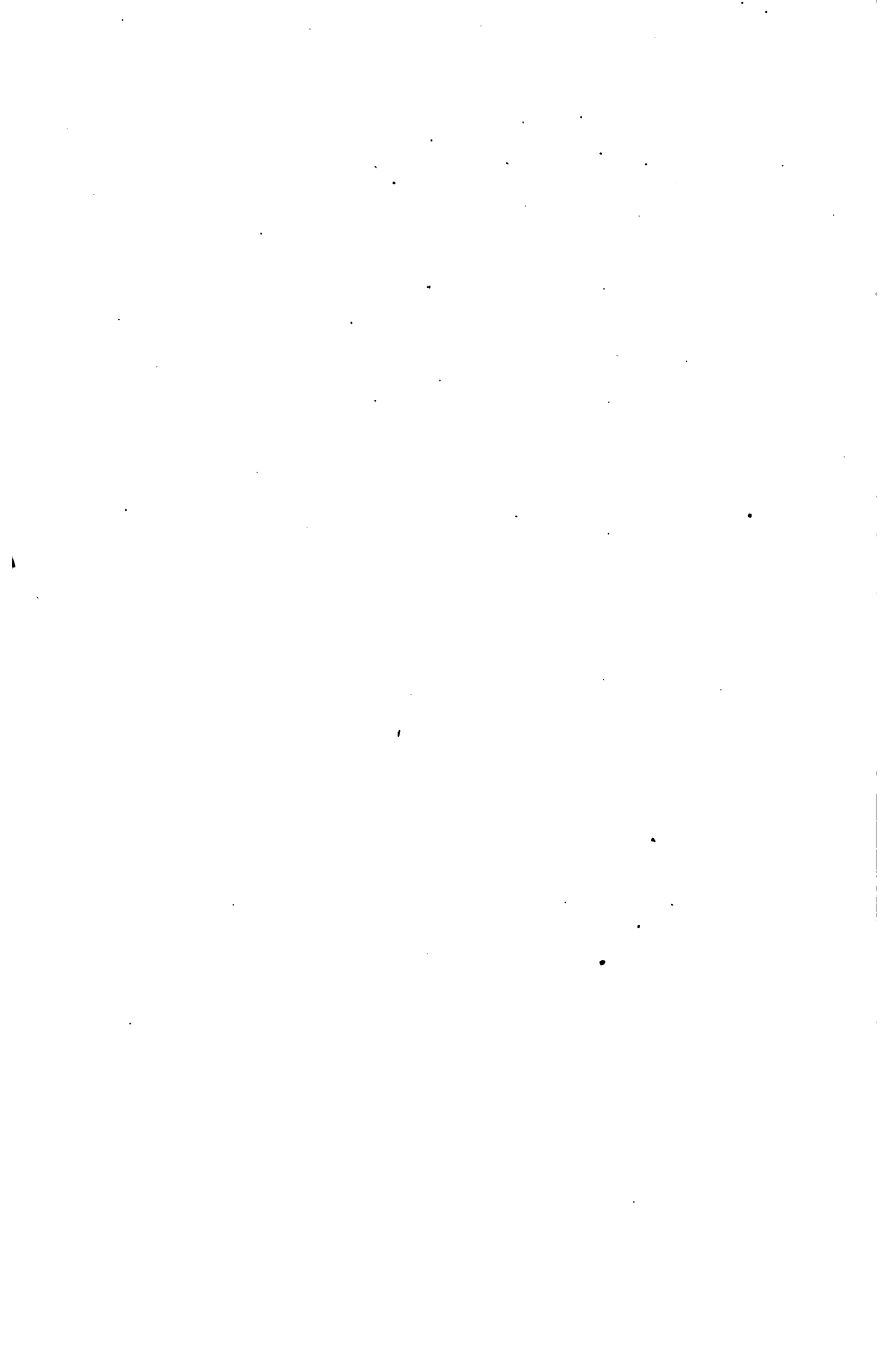
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